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The Youth Movement in China

by

TSI C. WANG, PH.D.

AUG 5 1954

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by

TSI C. WANG, PH.D.

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To the Memory of
My Mother

PREFACE

PREFACE

The material for this book has been collected during the course of the past four years from a wide range of sources and represents both the personal experiences of the author as well as the observations of those who have seen and participated in the movement. I have sought to describe and analyze the situations as they are,—to provide an impersonal and disinterested study.

This book aims to be a biography of the modern Chinese youth—a natural history of Young China. It throws light upon most of the problems confronting the Nation,—political, economic, educational, religious, social.

Various new situations in connection with the youth of modern China have arisen since this study was completed; namely, the killing of students in Shanghai by British soldiers, and in Peking by the Chinese Government, but they are merely examples of parallel situations that are described here. Still further manifestations of violence are likely to occur.

For constant and intimate assistance in the actual work of collecting and preparing the ma-

terial of this book, I am indebted to Professor Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago, who was the first to suggest that an intensive study of this subject be made, and who, in fact, was the first to call this development in China the Youth Movement, having compared it with a similar situation observed by him in Germany. His sympathetic criticism and untiring encouragement have been a constant inspiration, and to him much of whatever there may be of value in this book must be credited.

I am also indebted to many friends in China, especially to Dr. Hu Suh of the National University of Peking and my brothers, who have furnished me with valuable documents.

In preparing the copy for publication, invaluable service was rendered by Miss Winnifred Rauschenbusch and Miss Lois Halderman.

Columbus, Ohio,
Jan. 1st, 1927.

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THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IN CHINA

CHAPTER I

THE REVOLT OF YOUTH

To characterize the revolutionary movement of the students in China as the Youth Movement is not to recognize any historical connection between that movement and the youth movement in Europe, but regarded as social phenomena, the resemblance is sufficient to call it by that name.

Dr. Timothy T. Lew, lecturer, in an address at Tientsin in 1921 gave his impression of the youth movement as it exists in China.

"When I returned from the States in April, 1921, I spent two weeks in Shanghai. Like any one else who has been absent from home for nearly a decade I was quick to observe any changes in society. Almost at once I found myself overwhelmed by a kind of invisible power and atmosphere. I felt that there was life vibrating—a 'new life' which I had not found a few years ago. The people whom I met, conversations I had with them, the attitude they took, the opinion they expressed, the judgments they gave on various

questions of the day; the newspapers I read, the tone of public opinion reflected in their lines, the topics discussed; all indicated the presence of this new life. One evening I roamed through the streets and dropped into various bookstores and newspaper stands and gathered together 47 different kinds of magazines, including weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, and semi-annuals. I spent an entire night merely glancing over their contents, finding that there were more up-to-date things discussed and a wider range of opinions expressed in those magazines than in any combination of 47 magazines picked up from American newspaper stands. As I have traveled from one place to another since then, as speaking to various audiences and teaching in four or five institutions, I have become more and more interested in this 'new life' which seems to be developing all the time."

That the participants for the most part, including not only the students, but professors and returned students from abroad, were men between the ages of 17 and 25, is significant. The so-called "Student Movement" in China is merely one manifestation of the wider movement which swept over all China. An episode in one of these

student uprisings will illustrate better than any formal description the manner and temper of the whole student revolution, echoes of which have reached America.

"On the morning of May 4th, 1919, students from 33 schools and colleges in Peking, 15,000 strong, paraded the streets as a demonstration against the injustice of the Shangtung decision. . . . They were prevented by the police from entering the legation grounds. . . . They got into trouble with some of the so-called 'traitors' and thirty-three were arrested. The Peking students refused to attend classes as a protest against their arrest, refusing to return to work until the thirty-three students were released. On May 7th, the boys were released and welcomed back to their respective institutions as heroes, with acclamations and with tears. Students' Unions have since been organized throughout the whole country.

"The Union in Peking declared a general strike of all Peking students on May 20th. Strikes in other cities followed. In Peking, May 20th; Nanking, May 27th; Paotingfu, May 28th; Anking, May 30th; Hankow, Wushang, and Kaifeng, May 31st. There were also strikes in Foochow,

Canton, Amoy, Hanchow, and other cities throughout China." [1]

"While most political in its outward expression," said Professor John Dewey, who arrived in China just three days before this demonstration, "it was not a political movement. It was the manifestation of a new consciousness, an intellectual awakening in the young men and young women who through their schooling had been aroused to the necessity of a new order of belief, a new method of thinking." As in Germany, the revolt of youth included both sexes. It is the revolt under a peculiar combination of circumstances, one age-group against the tradition and moral domination of another.

A survey of recent Chinese magazines discloses with what themes young Chinese minds are occupied: The Problem of Life; Scientific Method; What Is Democracy?; New Morality; New Education; New Society; New Voice of Society; To Make Society Youthful and Youth Social; New Religion; New Womanhood; The New Individual; Young China; the Young World; The New Group; The New Life; Reconstruction: Renais-

[1] Chang Mo-Lin, "The Student Movement in China," 1920.

sance; New Culture Movement; New Thought Tide; New Literature; New Poetry; The New China; etc. The repeated use of the adjective "new" in connection with so large a variety of subjects indicates how intense is the dissatisfaction of Young China with Old China.

"We must remember," wrote a student, "that we are men of the present time. Ancient men were of ancient time. . . . Their old writings and culture and what not, we are willing to scrutinize scientifically in order to determine how far they are adapted to our needs, but we are not ready to accept them." [2]

"The source of all evils," writes another, "is the force which destroys our personal individuality . . . and this force is our family!" [3]

"To have real Democracy" (literally Mr. Democracy), said Professor Chen Tu-seu, one of the leaders prominent in the Youth Movement, "we cannot avoid a conflict with Confucianism, the older forms of logic, and of government. To have real science (Mr. Science), we cannot avoid disagreeing with the old forms of learning, and

[2] *The Renaissance,* Vol. I, No. V, 1919.
[3] *Ibid.,* Vol. I, No. I, 1919.

religion; and if we are to have both democracy and science, we cannot avoid a conflict with our long-established culture!"[4]

"The fundamental tendency of the movement is a new point of view which may be described as critical. . . . (1) In regard to traditional customs we must ask whether or not they have any value to-day. . . . (2) In regard to the traditionally handed-down teachings of our saints, we must inquire whether or not they are adequate for us now. . . . (3) Toward conventional forms of belief and action we must ask, Is it necessary to accept them as right because they are accepted by the majority? Are we bound to all that majority does? Are there not other methods which are better, more reasonable, and more beneficial than the old ones?"[5]

This change of front, this critical, democratic and scientific attitude toward all old customs and beliefs involved, to a very high degree, a "break with the past." The inner-life of the youth of China was thus completely changed, for the ancient motto of China was: "Walk slowly behind

[4] *La Jeuness,* Vol. VI, No. I, 1920.
[5] Hu Shih, *Selected Writings,* Vol. IV, 1921.

the elders; revere the past," while the motto of China's Youth to-day is "Self-expression."

"High school boys and girls listen soberly and intelligently to lectures," said Professor Dewey, "on subjects that would create nothing but bored restlessness in an American school. There is an eager thirst for ideas, I am convinced, beyond anything existing in the youth of any other country on earth.

"Opening up any magazine published in recent years, we see clearly new tendencies. First of all there is an interest in experiments, a host of 'problems' have arisen,—the Problem of Confucianism; of the Literary Revolution; of the National Language; of the Emancipation of Womanhood; of Sexual Morality; of 'Rituals' (Ceremonial Religion); of Educational Improvement; of Marriage; of the Relationship between Father and Son; of the Improvement of Education. . . . Secondly, there is an interest in what is referred to as 'the new learning.' A special number of 'New Youth' contains articles on 'Ibsen,' 'Democracy,' 'Modern Thought,' 'The New Education,' 'Dewey,' 'Reconstruction,' 'For All the People a Government.' *The Peking Morning News, The People's Republic, Weekly,*

and the *Shanghai Weekly,* are full of references to Emancipation and Reconstruction." [6]

Leading Personalities in the Movement

To Dr. Yen Fuh, Liang Chi-chao, and others, China owes the first germ seeds of the Movement. Prominent in the list of its pathfinders are Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei, and Professors Chen Tu-seu and Hu Shih.

Yen Fuh, who is considered the man most influential in changing Chinese thought after 1898, went to Europe in 1876 as one of the forty-eight students sent by the Chinese Government. Upon his return, he began translating English books into Chinese. At the end of the last century he was the most influential of the Chinese scholars who successfully introduced Western thought to China. One after another, the philosophical and scientific works of John Stuart Mill, Charles Darwin, Thomas Henry Huxley, Herbert Spencer, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Adam Smith were translated by him. During the close of the last century these books were widely read by scholars and students.

Liang Chi-chao was one of the most notable re-

[6] Hu Shih, op. cit.

formers at the end of the last century. The coup d'état of the "Old Budda" Empress Dowager in 1898 forced him and many others to flee to Japan and presented the opportunity for his publishing a paper, "New People." Having returned to China after the Revolution, he was interested first of all in political and educational reforms. But discouraged with politics, he is now devoting his entire time to education. His "Impressions of My European Travels," has had wide circulation. He was active in the Literary Revolution and the Anti-Religion Movements. As a popular lecturer and teacher, his "Sunday Lay-Sermons" in Shanghai attracted wide attention.

Tsai Yuan-pei, present Chancellor of the Peking Government University, a Harlin scholar, a research student in Germany and France, and author of the "Outlines of European Philosophy," translated Paulson's "Principles of Moral Philosophy," and wrote "China's Philosophy for the Past Fifty Years." To him belongs the credit of re-defining the aims of education in China. He has sought to make education democratic and scientific. Upon his return to China after the Revolution in 1911, he was made the first Minister of Education.

Since becoming Chancellor of the National University in 1917, he has invited to the University, students returning to China from America, France, Germany, Japan, Italy and Russia. He has discouraged students from going to college merely in order to fit themselves for positions, especially for government positions. Their goal, as he defined it for them, should be to discover, to create, and to lead society.

Chen Tu-seu, former dean of the National University of Peking, is a Chinese scholar, who acquired his education in Western science in Japan. He was the editor of the epoch-making magazine, "Sing Tsing Nien," the dynamo which generated the power for the movement. His article, "An Appeal to the Youth of China," in 1915, was like a voice crying in the wilderness. Regarded as a radical by the authorities of the old régime, twice he found himself in prison. Fearlessly he attacked all existing institutions in the interest of the social revolution, of democracy and science. "New Youth," the first magazine of the Youth Movement, was the mother of a brood of magazines under the influence of which the Youth Movement, formerly but an expression of an interest and enthusiasm about new phases of ex-

perience like the "Wandervogel"[7] in Germany, assumed here the character of an organized revolution. The "Literary Revolution," published in February, 1917, in the "New Youth," was a declaration of war against the so-called dead language.

Closely connected with Chen Tu-seu is Dr. Hu Shih, the moving spirit in the present Literary Revolution. Dr. Hu Shih was born in 1891 in Shanghai, and educated in the old school in China. Having finished his studies there, he entered Cornell University where he completed his undergraduate work. At Columbia University he took advanced studies returning to China in 1917 as the professor of philosophy in the National University of Peking.

"Suggestions for a Literary Reformation in China," which was, figuratively speaking, the first gun fired in the Literary Revolution, was written in January, 1917, while he was still a student in Columbia University. He demanded for China a "living, human, democratic, and scientific medium of self-expression."

In 1919 "Outlines of the History of Chinese

[7] *Wandervogel* because the youth in modern schools and returned students from other countries were in conflict with their traditional life.

Philosophy" came off the press just two years after his return from America. In this work he sought to establish the truth that much of the older Chinese philosophy, long buried and forgotten, is of genuine scientific character, a fact particularly true of the writings of Mo-tzo, the apostle of universal love.[8] The discovery and reinterpretation of the old learning in terms of modern scientific thought has, therefore, become one phase of the literary movement.[9]

Among the students influential in the Movement are Fu Ssu Nien, now a research student in England, author of "An Introduction to the Problems of Life," "Giving-Up Soldiers," "Living Language and Psychological Revolution"; Lo Chia Lun, now a student at Princeton University, author of "The New Thought Movement of the Modern World," "What is Literature?," "Chinese Modern Novelists," "Comments on Chinese Literary Reform" by Dr. S. S. Hu; Chiang Shao Yuan, now a research student in America, author of "Interpretation of Modern Christianity," who, though not a Christian, is interested in the study of religion; and Wang Kwang Chi, now a re-

[8] Hu Shih, *Outlines of the History of Chinese Philosophy*, Shanghai.

[9] See the chapter on "The Literary Revolution."

search student in Germany, author of "A Diligent Student," and "What Is Thinking?." These men, sent abroad for further education by the National University of Peking, founded a magazine called "The Renaissance"[10] four years after the publication of "New Youth."

Leading Organizations in the Movement

(1) The Shang Chih Hsuch, organized by a group of young scholars in Peking in 1910 for "encouraging high ideals," has invited Professor John Dewey, Mr. Bertrand Russell, Dr. H. Dreisch, Sir R. Tagore to lecture in China. Credit for the translation of "Creative Evolution," "Matter and Memory," Plato's "Republic," Tyler's "Anthropology," Le Bon's "The Psychology of the Crowd," "The Psychology of Revolution," Wallace's "Word of Life," and many other books of the same nature goes to this organization.

(2) The Young China Association organized in July, 1918, by students, scholars and professors, expressed its purpose: "Our Association dedicates itself to Social Service under the guidance of the scientific spirit in order to realize our

[10] See the chapter on "The New Culture."

idea of creating a Young China. Our creed is 'To Fight—To Work—To Persevere—To Live Simply.'" Its publications are "The Young China" (1919) and "The Young World" (1920). Its membership includes Chinese students in England, France, Germany, America, and Japan.[11]

(3) The Co-operative Study Society, organized mainly by students for the purpose of coöperative research, was responsible for the translation of numerous plays, for the most part from the French and Russian; and novels, chiefly from the German, Italian and Swiss.

(4) The Renaissance Society which came into being in 1918 at the National University of Peking, in January, 1919, published "The Renaissance," or more literally "The New Tide," the first magazine in the interest of the Revolution to be published independently by students.

(5) The New Education Association, owes its existence to a group of the young Chinese schoolmen representing every part of the country, and is seeking to promote the new education in China. Its publication is "The New Education."

[11] See the chapter on "The New Culture."

Parties of Interest

The Movement has met with its opposition. In fact, conflicts and controversies have arisen at every point between the so-called conservative parents and their critical children, between conservative teachers and liberal students, between conservative scholars and radical scholars, between aristocratic officials and dangerous radicals, between religious youth and non-religious youth, —in a word between the old and new forces.

The Student Revolution, although it at first aroused sympathetic responses from parents, teachers, and merchants, encountered later all kinds of obstacles. "The students met discouragement on all sides," said Dr. Dewey, "even their teachers and advisers among the returned students from America were inclined at first to wet-blanket their ardor. Its spontaneity is the proof of its genuine and inevitable nature."

Dr. Hu Shih and Chen Tu-seu published their respective articles on "Suggestions for Literary Reform in China," and "Essay on Literary Revolution" in January and February, 1917. The effect was to divide the country into parties over this issue. In a letter to Dr. Hu, Mr. Chen said,

"The issue of Literary Reform has been raised in China, and the public is fairly divided between those who oppose and those who agree." [12] The students themselves, were not unanimous in their support of literary reform. Even among the professors in the National University of Peking where Dr. Hu and Mr. Chen, the two champions of the movement, held a dominating position, a group of the professors organized in opposition to the movement, publishing a paper entitled "The National Heritage." [13]

The fact that The World's Student Christian Federation was to be held in Peking in April, 1922, was the occasion for the publication, "Why We Oppose the World's Student Christian Federation" by the Anti-Religion Movement, founded in March, 1922. The Anti-Religion Movement spread rapidly and provoked a vast amount of discussion. Three parties were formed: the Pro's, the Anti's, and the Neutrals.

The first party proclaimed religion to be a superstition which shackled freedom of thought and scientific progress. A book entitled "Arguments Against Religion," supporting this thesis, included

[12] Chen Tu-seu, *Selected Essays.*
[13] See the chapter on "The Literary Revolution."

articles by Sias Chih Sun, Lu Chang Lung, Bertrand Russell, and Tsai Yuan-pei. Typical of these articles are "Natural Ethics," "Four Types of Chinese People in Relation to the Problem of Religion," "Why I Oppose Religion," "Æsthetics vs. Religion," "Faith and Freedom," "Reason and Superstition."

The second party accepted the challenges and made answer as follows: (1) Religion is inevitable; (2) Religion and Science are not conflicting factors in modern society; . . . (3) Christianity is progressive and is not contrary to reason; . . . (4) The Charge that Christianity is a supporter of capitalism is unverified; . . . (5) China at present urgently needs Christianity.[14]

The third party remained neutral. On March 31, 1922, five professors of the National University headed by Mr. Chow Tso Jen published a statement insisting that every one should be permitted to believe in the religion of his choice. Part of the statement reads: "We are not members of any church, nor do we desire to show any sympathy towards movements against any religion. We are, however, strongly of the opinion that men should have perfect religious free-

[14] Chang, C. S., "The Anti-Religion Movement," 1923.

dom. This is distinctly guaranteed by the Constitution, and educated people should take the lead in acting on this principle. In any case, they should not take the initiative in destroying it." As the controversy increased in violence the area of agitation and disturbance widened. Recent as the Youth Movement of China is, it has already found many expressions and has profoundly changed Chinese thought and Chinese life.

CHAPTER II

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IN GERMANY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

In December, 1921, *The Survey* published an article called "The Youth Movement in Germany," the first on the subject to appear in the United States. Other articles on the Youth Movement followed, notably those in *The National Student Forum.* That same year Stanley High's *The Revolt of Youth* and M. T. Staufer's *Youth and Renaissance Movements* appeared. The Youth Movement became a popular subject of discussion. There has been a so-called Youth Movement in the Methodist Church and other churches. In 1924 the Y.M.C.A. called a summer conference at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, for the business of initiating a youth movement! The German Youth Movement however, like the Chinese movement, is not an artificial thing, but a spontaneous development.

The Story

In 1896 in Steglitz, a suburb of Berlin on the road to Potsdam, Karl Fischer, a young teacher

in a gymnasium, converted a shorthand club into a wandering club, leading his students away from the school into the open hills and forests. This venture proved to be so popular that Steglitz and other cities immediately became its advocates.

The students called themselves Wandervogel, birds of passage. What animated them was the desire to escape from busy cities, from the rigor of the old German type of schools, and the conservative German homes, and to wander out into places where they might get fresh air and be by themselves.

Karl Fischer, or "Crazy Fischer," as the boys called him, was a romantic idealist,—a rebel of the type of Karl Moor. On Sundays and holidays he and his companions would go out on all-day hikes, and at nights lying about a camp fire on the open heath, airing their grievances and talking of things that were taboo at school, Karl Fischer tried to inspire them with his ideals. Like Karl Moor, the romantic idealist of old Germany, he was a man with a strong passion for freedom, yet insisted on the severest self-discipline. It pleased him to revive the old Germanic customs although he revolted against the accustomed ideals

of home and church and militaristic state. In the spring of 1898, he conducted the first long hike into the Bohemian forests, Karl Moor's favorite haunt. Such hikes became very popular.

The German Wandervogel has been described as "a brown, dirty fellow with a soft felt hat, somewhere a few green, red and gold ribbons, on his back a rucksack and over his shoulder a sooty pot and a guitar." While these Wandervogel delighted in their similarity to the traveling scholars of the Middle Ages, there was no tendency to imitate the habits of drinking and duelling then prevailing among the modern German University students. In the evening they would sit about the fires with groups of boys from some distant locality whom they had joined on the march, discussing the conditions which they found at home and in school. They played games, listened to stories and sang songs. At first, they sang the songs of the Revolution of 1848 and some of the rebellious German student songs, but coming into contact with the peasants, they discovered a new store of folk songs which they eagerly snatched up and set to music for the guitar. These songs were collected and published under the title of *Zupfgeigenhansl* by Hans Breuer, one of their

leaders.[1] The nature of the ramblings is charmingly described in a personal letter written by one of these Wandervogel.

"We left Berlin on the 23rd of June (1923) at eleven o'clock at night, carrying a rucksack with some linen and some provisions, a pot for cooking and two rugs on our backs. Each of us was dressed in knee-breeches. We had nailed shoes on our feet, and one of us carried a guitar slung at his side. On the morning of the following day our train came into Nurnberg, from which we started on our wandering after having seen the town. We at once hurried to the youthshelter. . . . The youthful wanderers . . . get lodging here for a few pfennigs and the possibility of cooking their dinners. . . . The inner part of the town with the old castle situated on a hill looks very romantic. . . . When we returned to our youthshelter in the evening, it was like a humming bee-hive, full of life and joy. There was singing and dancing in the common-room. Several groups enjoyed themselves by singing the old folk-songs, which our people like so much. They wander through the countries singing them and playing the accompaniment on a guitar or fiddle. . . . Every Wandervogel has three songs in his book, entitled 'Zupfgeigenhansl.' In other corners the

[1] Hans Breuer, *Der Zupfgeigenhansl,* pp. 238, Friedrich Hofmeister, Leipzig, 1908.

young people played chess and other games or patched up their equipment. But most of them were talking. . . .

"It is a pleasure to see how this wandering life makes people simple and sincere. All seemed to be friends. . . . The young people proved to have very different opinions as to the state, the family, morality, religion, and many other problems. But on the other hand they were conscious that they belonged to one generation, which had found a new style of life opposed to the old one. When the host wished them a good night's rest at half past nine, everybody sought out his straw mattress among the long ranks in the sleeping rooms.

"From Nurnberg we journeyed to Rothenburg, a wonderful nest, indeed. We climbed a hill and the town suddenly lay before our eyes. . . . We fancied ourselves carried back to the 15th or 16th Century. . . . The most charming hours were those when the boys and girls sang and danced before the gates. You must not think these were the modern dances, which are deeply disapproved by these young people; they were our folk-dances which had greater appeal for them. . . . We wandered through the lovely mountains of the Black Forest, we swam in the Lake of Constance, we climbed the Sogan Alps as well as the Bavaria Alps and finally made our way through the Highlands of Upper-Bavaria to the city of Munich." [2]

[2] Hans Blucher, Wandervogel, Charlottenburg, 1919, p. 35.

Karl Fischer, to be sure, was not the only man participating in this youth revolution; many other scholars and thinkers also took active part, for they were all dissatisfied with the existing order of life. Even before Karl Fischer led those discontented students out to be Wandervogel, Guritt, a teacher in Steglitz, despising those of his colleagues who had surrendered unconditionally to the existing system, preached freedom of thought to his students and put into the heads of the youth, ideas which robbed them of their peace. He taught them to look upon the world from an angle which had never been taught them before, . . . a point of view which led them from the proper path and threw many a one heedlessly from a carefully chosen career out on to the path of independent thinking. He spoke of things that were taboo.[3]

After the Wandervogelbewegung was started, an elderly thinker in the Rhine-country named Jansen contributed liberally of his wealth to spread Wandervogel propaganda, helping to organize many branches throughout South and West Germany.

[3] Gerhard Heidemann, his letter from Berlin, November 3, 1923. With the permission of Mrs. Robert E. Park.

Hans Breuer, whose name has already been mentioned, was a friend of Karl Fischer. His love for nature had made him an enemy of alcohol, and stimulated him to collect those folk-songs into a volume, Zupfgeigenhansl, which has become an important symbol of the modern youth movement in Germany.

Among other educators, Dr. Gustav Wyneken stood out prominently. Working with others he established the well-known Free School Community at Wickersdorf in 1906, an institution which gave new impetus to the revolution already going on in young minds. Thousands of young teachers and students made pilgrimages monthly to the place taking home with them his ideal of a new school.[4]

At the same time they met opposition on all sides: from their teachers, their parents, and later from the authorities of the State. Opposition, however, simply intensified the revolt, and helped the spread of the movement which at first included only boys, then girls, and later the youth of other classes.

The year 1913 marked the Centenary of the

[4] Dr. Gustav Wyneken, "The Free School Community at Wickersdorf," in *Youth, Spring,* 1924, Vol. II, No. XII, p. 116, London: The International League of Youth.

Battle of Leipsic, the successful conclusion of the Wars of Liberation, and the movement of youth led by such crusaders as Arndt and Fichte, and enormous commemorative celebrations were held throughout Germany. In those celebrations, two types of student life were exhibited side by side: the old student life and the new. It was customary for the German students during festivals to engage in drinking and other venerable sports. Against such student habits the work of the Wandervogel was directed. In October, 1913, three thousand of those youths met on the Hill, Hohen Meissner, near Cassel, and a new organization called Freideutsche Jugend was initiated. The attitude of the gathering was well expressed in the Meissner Formula: "The Free German Youth with full self-determination and driven by their own feeling of responsibility and of inner truth will mold their own lives. For this inner freedom they will stand together under all conditions. To form mutual understandings they will have Free German Youth Days." The use of alcohol and tobacco are to be prohibited at these gatherings, the nature of which has been described by Erna Behne.

"In 1913 the celebration of festival of the

Centenary, all the bands from every corner of Germany set out to ascend the Hohen Meissner, a high hill near Cassel. In the midst of the early morning we met, in small parties at a turn of the steep paths. Increasing in numbers as we went, we arrived at the top of the hill, amazed to find ourselves a great body of young people enthusiastic over the same issue. Very soon the camp-fires were burning, a festal ceremony of youth began, so grandly simple and fresh that we can never forget it. Before long, another great stream of wandering youth came to join our bands; it was proletarian. With difficulty youths had escaped from their gloomy class rooms, to enjoy at least one Sunday full of light." [5]

The Youth Movement, in form, had gradually evolved from mere wandering to a real participation in solving social problems of youth. From the wanderings of boy students it had expanded to include the participation of girls and the young people of other classes. After developing steadily year after year, it came to a great halt in 1914; the Great War was on. The young lads were called by the State to fight for their Fatherland!

[5] Erna Behne, "Why We Wander," *The New Student*, March 3, 1923, p. 12.

They did not, however, forget altogether their spirit of revolt. They brought with them their old folk-songs, and it is interesting that many of the marching songs of the German Army were supplanted by the folk-songs of the Wandervogel, quickly caught up by the soldiers. Then too, the war afforded them opportunity to meet with other young people of different social classes. Holzwarth, a student of philosophy at Göttigen and a prisoner during the war, wrote: "As month succeeded month and year was added to year, there came a great passionate longing in every student heart for the day when studies might be resumed. . . . Trench fellowships on a truly democratic basis had taught us hitherto unperceived things about ourselves. 'Corps-men' and 'finches' alike found a common unity.[6] Even while we were in the field we were able to organize a loose student fellowship, an organization wherewith to demand student rights when once the war should be over." [7]

[6] "Corps-men" were members of German student organizations like the American fraternities, the survival of the old student organizations after the fall of Napoleon. Those "finches" were non-members of those organizations.

[7] Bernard Iddings Bell, "The German Student Union," *St. Stephen's College Bulletin,* Vol. LXIV, No. II, May, 1923, p. 28.

At the same time, to be sure, there was a conflict going on between some of the youth and the military leaders. When the Freideutsch Bewegung was holding its meeting during the war in 1917, at which militarist speakers from outside the movement endeavored to influence it in a Pan-German sense, a representative of the movement, expressing the sense of the meeting said: *"We do not want to belong to your world at all.* We do not intend to sacrifice ourselves to pay for your crimes. . . . How shall it profit us if we gain the whole world in exchange for our souls?" [8]

Their yearning for peace during the war was intensified by their previous experience of the Youth Movement. Mr. Booth writes:

"Members of the Jugendbewegung writing from the Front give expression to their profound sense of the awful tragedy of the conflict and their determination to work for a new and better life in the future. Out of hundreds of passages I select the following as typical: 'Above and beyond all war and death is our deep yearning for the time when we shall be able to work side by side with youth of the whole world. Let us hope that all true patriots will take to heart the

[8] M. Booth, "The German Youth Movement," *The Hibbert Journal,* April, 1924, p. 471.

motto Umlearnen, until the atmosphere has been created in which alone a lasting peace of reconciliation can succeed. If this is accomplished by many, comrades who have fallen will not have been sacrificed in vain. . . ." [9]

There was discontent, however, not only among youth, but also among the people as a whole, which brought about the Revolution in 1918 and hastened the end of the Great War. After the Great War, the young people having gone through difficult experience and longing for the pre-war student life, renewed their energy in the Wandervogel Bewegung. The new conditions after the Revolution and the War gave them far more freedom than in pre-war days, and the scope of the revolt of youth had greatly widened.

A classification of the youth activities after the Great War may sum up the general aspects of the current Youth Movement in Germany.

First of all, the number of youth organizations had greatly multiplied, and the ideas of the Wandervogel had been popularized among youth of all classes. The different groups are German National Youth Union, The Democratic Youth Movement, The Socialist Youth Movement, The

[9] M. Booth, "The German Youth Movement," *The Hibbert Journal,* April, 1924, p. 471.

Catholic Youth Movement, The Proletariat Youth Movement, The Free German Youth.

Second, pre-war dreams of self-determination and self-government in the universities came true after the War. Early in 1919 a convention of all the former students of Germany was summoned at Wurzburg, and a national organization "Studentenschaft" was formed for the purpose of creating a self-governing and self-supporting student democracy. Self-education and self-responsibility were emphasized, both inside and outside of their universities. A very definite program of international student coöperation was drawn up. As part of the program, a convention in which representatives from eighteen nationalities were present, was held in April, 1922, in Leipsic for the discussion of their common problems.

Third, a great flood of literature, of striking resemblance to the flood of youth magazines in China,[10] was published by the youth of Germany expressing their ideas and ideals and treating all kinds of social problems. Miss Gertrude Baer, a

[10] Among the leading youth periodicals are *Junge Menschen, Junge Gemeinde,* and *Das Junge Volk.* These may be compared with *The New Man, The New Group,* and *The New People of the Chinese Youth* magazines.

delegate from Germany to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in her speech on "The European Youth Movement" said: "More than a hundred kinds of periodicals have been recently published by German youth in the Youth Movement on practically all cultural problems. Never before in our history have our youth been so enthusiastic over matters of education, religion, social service. Through youth periodicals, they find a great means of self-expression. But, to be sure, are not particularly young people interested in political problems; they are most interested in the problem of achieving a new life and a new culture." [11]

Fourth, besides their renewed energy in wandering (Wandervogel) and in their common publications, the presence of young people in public demonstrations is noticeable, their demonstration against militarism being a notable example.

"Not very long ago ten thousand Germans gathered at the palace of their war-lord to affirm their faith in peace. . . . These were little Germans scarcely tall enough to reach your waist—little Germans, twelve, fourteen, sixteen years old, who had come to shout for peace. Above them flew

[11] May 30, 1924, Chicago.

slogans such as 'Give us peace!' And now and then some shock-haired youngster climbed a balustrade to wave his banner for 'Nie wieder Krieg!' No doubt those bronze generals who sit so fiercely on their Russian pedestals in the Lustgarten must have thought the world was ending. Here, in their very faces, young lads of thirteen flaunted banners boasting 'Never shall we be your soldiers!' This was Jugend."

From a tiny beginning of a wandering club of discontented youngsters in 1896 in Steglitz, there has sprung up a Wandervogel Bewegung, participated in later by girls and youth of all classes. The little infant has become a grown boy. Their revolting discontent was first expressed merely in wandering and adventuring, a form of escape. Then it extended to a revolt against their old student habits and against their schools, and finally, after the Great War, it expanded magnificently into a participation in all the cultural problems which fused their country and the world. In the beginning of the movement they had received opposition from all sides, but after the Great War youth became a symbol of prestige in German society. It was after the Great War that the

Jugendbewegung of Germany began to attract the attention of the people of the world.

The Characteristics

There is a striking similarity between the Youth Movement of Germany and that of China.

1. *Primarily Student Revolutions:* Both have their starting points among discontented students in Steglitz and in Peking. Both movements became national in their scope. The mass movements of the Jugend or Wandervogel in Germany and the mass movement of young students in China may seem different in form, but fundamentally they are alike in their dissatisfaction with the existing order of life and their sense of responsibility for the future.

2. *Participation of Some Emancipated Teachers:* What Karl Fischer, Gustav Wyneken, and Hans Breuer, have done for Germany, Chen Tu-seu, Tsai Yuan-pei, and Hu Suh, have done for China. Here again we have an interesting contrast. While Karl Fischer in Germany was given the title of "Crazy Fischer," Chen Tu-seu received the similar title, "Crazy Chen." In contrast to Gustav Wyneken's Free School Community, Tsai Yuan-pei reorganized the National

University of Peking and made it an institution of freedom of thought. While Hans Breuer reorganized the German folk-songs into Zupfgeigenhansl, Hu Suh created the so-called Experimental poetry and reorganized Chinese philosophy. Those leaders, although they considered themselves "youths" in a youth movement, gave direction and impetus to later student revolutions.

3. *Cultural Rather Than Political Revolutions:* While both were quite closely connected with the political life, a distinct tendency of the youth of both nations was to keep away from politics, their whole attention being directed toward cultural lines. The attitudes of German youth toward home, education, religion, and their old life in general, is shown in the following extract from a letter written by one boy to another in the early days of the Wandervogel Bewegung.

"You write that love for our parents has become an empty phrase. Don't believe it! Only for love of us do our parents take these steps that bring us to despair. The tragedy of it is, they do not understand us and have wrong conceptions of the character of our inclinations. But it is terrible that we must show them gratitude for our unhappiness. They really worry me." [12]

[12] *Wandervogel,* p. 18.

Gustav Wyneken in his *Der Neue Anfang,* wrote:

"We feel unfree and hampered in the atmosphere of the family circle, where we were never taken seriously and where the older people never appreciated the need of our body and soul. We will no more stand the buffoons of the desk who compel us to sit bended over our books, who call us names and insult us, who hammer into us their nonsense in a mechanical and soundless way. We will no more go back and perish in that prison which people call 'school.' "

Concerning the attitude of youth toward religion, Walter Pahl of Leipzig wrote:

"The world was Christian in which we grew up. We became skeptical, suspicious, believed ourselves deceived. . . . Our mother taught us prayers which we did not understand, we only babbled them mechanically. Then came the war,—and the silent torment of our youth became the loud cry for redemption. The God of the churches blessed the fights of millions of brothers. . . . In the name of God they tore our hearts out of our bodies and threw them into a sea of blood. Our souls trembled and we asked: 'Where are the Christians to whom love is the inspiration and crown of their life?' The sight of the battlefields pierced our hearts as with seven sword thrusts. . . . 'God is

dead.' A cry, accusation and longing in one! We became enemies of the church. We fled from the cold meeting-houses, away into our loneliness, to seek for the new kingdom, and God of our youth, —to become the corner-stones of the temple of temples, that an inner voice was calling us to build. . . . This new God was a gift to us,—the body! . . . The human-body is lost in our age. . . . The religion of Christianity had rent the bands existing between body and soul, life and religion, house and church, earth and heaven. This separation of body and soul was an error and sin. Our bodies are prepared for the dance round the new altars, our eyes are open to see the new wonder of the stars! . . . We desire only, whole and complete life." [13]

A notice posted by Wandervogel in a small village, bore this message:

"To all who are really alive! All youth must combine to fight against everything that is rotten and corrupt in our society. For eight days during the fair you have allowed them to show you indecent dances and other flimsy things of the old 'Kultur'; . . . With everything except real joy, real fellowship and real folk life. Our people must perish unless the young and those who have

[13] Walter Pahl, "The Religious Movement in the German Youth Movement," *The New Student,* Vol. II, March 3, 1923, pp. 13-14, New York.

remained young arise and work with each other for the preservation of the best in all of us. We are with you in being against amusements of all kinds that, for the sake of profit, exploit youth in body and soul. Come to our meetings as simple men and women; leave at home powder and paint and stupid fashions. Let joy of heart be your ornament. . . ."[14]

4. *New Life and Culture Sought for in Both:* Passionate desire for new ways of life and new culture followed in the wake of the revolt against the old life in both Germany and China. Both encourage new life and new culture. Both are interested in poetry, plays, novels, arts, folk songs, the dance, philosophy and literature. Both have found expression in a flood of youth periodicals. While there are more than one hundred of such periodicals in Germany, there are more than three hundred in China. In interesting contrast we find:

In Germany	*In China*
Jugend	"New Youth"
Junge Menschen	The New Man
Junge Gemeinde	The New Group
Das Junge Volk	The New People
Der Neue Anfang	The New Generation
	"Dawn"

[14] Stanley High, *The Revolt of Youth,* 1923, pp. 77-78.

5. *Freedom, Democracy, Humanity—Ideals of Both:* Permeated with similar ideals is the new life of both. Freedom of thought, Democracy in human relationships, and Humaneness in international and racial dealings are of primary concern.

Both have developed a new sexual morality, advocating a freer relationship between boys and girls, be it in wandering together on the German Wandervogel trips, or in the social gatherings of Chinese boys and girls.

A feeling of oneness with all other social classes has supplanted their former attitude that student groups comprised a distinct class. Formerly they considered manual work beneath their dignity. To-day, with laborers or with kings, both strive to be at ease.

It is interesting to note that the youth of both movements emphasize humanity as something opposed to their traditional attitudes. Both revolt against the domination of capitalism, militarism, and narrow nationalism as enemies of humanity, and they both emphasize internationalism. Thus they are sympathetic with youth of other nations and with the laboring and the oppressed classes in their respective countries. Both affirm that

their interest in philosophy, arts, poetry, science, has no national boundaries.

6. *Self-Government, Social Service, and Rising Prestige of Youth: Phases of Both:* The youth of both nations have fought for and gained their independence. The Studentenschaft of the German youth may be compared with the student-courts, student-republics, and student-self-government, of the Chinese youth. They symbolize the fruits of educational revolution brought about by the youth of both nations, for to later Germany and China this freedom of the student is an innovation. They have in both cases stept beyond their traditional school-circles, where they were merely students, and have participated in public welfare, or social service, among their people. That youth has taken over the leadership of both nations is unquestionable. German youth and Chinese youth, meeting only opposition in the beginning, have arisen to a place of high prestige in society.

While there are many similarities of the two movements, there are also a few striking differences. In its beginning, the movement in China emphasized the thought of the modern life as opposed to the life of old China, while in Germany,

the life of the past was idealized, as opposed to modern life, especially to urban life. This difference is well shown in the lives of their respective leaders, Karl Fischer and Chen Tu-seu.

Karl Fischer was extremely dissatisfied with the modern life, and increasingly interested in the old German life. As a worshiper of the past he even went so far as to revive old Teutonic customs. But Chen Tu-seu, after several years of study in foreign countries, became extremely dissatisfied with old Chinese tradition, going so far as to revolt against all old Chinese culture, including sacred Confucianism and the classical language. He was interested in modern science and democracy, which then became watchwords of the movement in China. One essential thing the two leaders had in common—their interest and faith in the younger generation.

In Germany, thus, we witness the wandering youth, birds of passage, singing folk-songs and dancing their folk-dances. The movement in China is more intellectual than romantic in character. With the aid of modern science and democracy, the young China is re-interpreting all cultural values, ancient and modern. The tendency of the intellectual class to be the leaders of

the country is, indeed, manifested in the present Youth Movement, and in this sense it conforms to traditional patterns. Its distinct differences in contrast to other cultural revolutions in Chinese history will be brought out in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST CHINESE STUDENT TO GO ABROAD

THE Youth Movement in China came into being at a time that China was emerging from her isolation and coming into contact for the first time, not with the world of the East with which she had long been familiar, but with the world of the West. Out of the friction between these two different cultures, a true Renaissance of thought and feeling arose in China.[1] Had it not been for the Chinese students who for the last seventy-five years had made their pilgrimages to all countries of the world, there would probably have been no such Renaissance, and there would doubtlessly have been no Youth Movement. The story, therefore, of the Chinese students, who made voyages to the world of western ideas, and who returned to China, aflame, critical,

[1] For the changing national attitude of China since the First Opium War, see: T. T. Lew, *China's Renaissance.* In *China To-day Through Chinese Eyes,* London, 1922; and Suh Hu, *The Chinese Renaissance,* Peking, 1923.

and anxious to reform their own country, is an essential background for the understanding of the youth movement of China.

The first student left China for foreign shores in 1847. This student was Yung Wing, through whose unflagging efforts a reluctant government was finally persuaded to send 120 other Chinese students to the United States. The 120 students sent by the government were recalled before they became "too gay and western," and Yung Wing died in exile in the United States in 1912. His autobiography reveals fortunately, not only the life of Yung Wing, but to a considerable degree, the stimulations and preoccupations of the hundreds of other young Chinese who ultimately followed the trail blazed by him.

The Life of Yung Wing [2]

I was born on the 17th of November, 1828, in the village of Nam Ping on Pedio Island which is about four miles southwest of the Portuguese Colony of Macao, separated from it by a channel half a mile wide.

It has always been a mystery to me why my parents should have sent me to a foreign school, instead of a regular orthodox Confucian school,

[2] Yung Wing, *My Life in China and America,* New York, 1909.

where my brother who was much older than myself had been placed. Assuredly such a step would have been more in harmony with Chinese taste, sentiment, and the needs of the country; . . . I can only account for this departure from the old policy for the reason that foreign intercourse with China was just beginning to grow, and my parents, anticipating that it might soon assume the proportions of a tidal wave, thought it worth while to take time by the forelock. So one of their sons was allowed to learn English in order that he might become one of the first interpreters and in order that he might have a more advantageous position from which to make his way into the business and diplomatic world.

The Foreign School

In 1835, when I was barely seven years of age, my father took me to Macao. Upon reaching the school, I was brought before Mrs. Gutzlaff.[3] . . . Her kindly expression and sympathetic smiles found little appreciative response at the outset, as I stood half dazed by her personality and my new environment. A new world had dawned on me. After a time when my homesickness was over and the novelty of my surroundings gradually begun to wear off, she completely won me over by

[3] A missionary under the auspices of the Ladies' Association in London for the promotion of female education in India and the East. Yung Wing, *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 2.

her kindness and sympathy. I began to regard her as a mother.

One escapade that occurred during my boyhood, I can never forget! I was shut in the third story of the house, which had a wide open terrace on the top,—the only place where the girls and I played and amused ourselves. Not allowed to go out of doors to play in the streets . . . I used to envy other children their freedom and sneaked downstairs to mingle with them in their sports after school hours . . . eager to see something of the outside world. . . . To gain my freedom, I planned to run away. The girls were all much older than I, and a few sympathized with me in my wild scheme; doubtlessly from the same sense of restlessness for being too closely cooped up. I told them of my plan. Six of the older ones fell in with the idea. I was to slip out of the house alone, go down to the wharf and engage a covered boat in which we seven might escape. But our conspiracy was fruitless.

In the fall of 1840, while the Opium War was still going on, my father died, leaving four children on my mother's hands without means of support. . . . My brother was engaged in fishing, my sister helped in housework, and I took to hawking candy through my own village and the neighboring village. Although but twelve years old, I took hold of the business in great earnest, rising at three o'clock every morning, and not re-

turning home until six o'clock in the evening. My daily earnings netted twenty-five cents, which I turned over to my mother, who with the help given by my brother, was the mainstay of the family, and thus we managed to keep the wolf from the door.

The Morrison School was opened on the 1st of November, 1839, under the charge of the Rev. S. R. Brown . . . a graduate of Yale in 1832, an able founder of the first English school in China. Entering the school in 1841, I found that five other boys had one year's start on me. They were all studying primary arithmetic, and geography, and could already read and pronounce English quite well. We studied English in the forenoon, and Chinese in the afternoon. . . . We six made up the first class.

Yung Wing Decides to Leave China

Rev. Brown surprised the entire school by leaving China in the winter of 1846. He told us of his contemplated return to America on account of his health and the health of his family. Out of his deep interest in the school, he expressed his desire to take a few of his old pupils home with him to finish their education in the United States, and asked those who wished to go, to rise. A deep gloom enveloped the whole school. A dead silence fell upon all. I was the first to rise to my feet. Wong Foon was the second, followed by Wong Shing.

The consent of our respective parents was necessary of course. My mother gave hers with great reluctance. After my earnest pleading she yielded with tears and sorrow. I tried to console her by reminding her of the fact that she had two more sons besides myself, as well as a daughter to look after her comfort.

We embarked at Whampoa on the 4th of January, 1847 (19 years old), in the good ship "Huntress" under Captain Gillespie . . . and landed in New York on the 12th of April, 1847, after a passage of ninety-eight days of unprecedented fair weather.

Real and Imaginary Voyages

Little did I realize, when in 1845, at the age of sixteen I wrote in the Morrison School a composition on "An Imaginary Voyage to New York and up the Hudson," that I was to see New York in reality. This incident leads me to the reflection that sometimes our imagination foreshadows what lies uppermost in our minds and so the possibilities of life are bodied forth and become realities. The Chinese Education Scheme is another example of the realities that came from my day dreaming. So was my marrying an American wife.[4]

In America, I was advised to avail myself of the contingent fund provided for indigent students. In the hands of the trustees of the acad-

[4] Yung Wing first entered Monson Academy where he graduated in 1849, and then entered the Yale College in 1850.

emy, this fund was well guarded. It could not be appropriated without the recipient's signing a written pledge that he would study for the ministry and afterwards become a missionary. . . . The trustees said they would be only too glad to have me avail myself of the fund, provided I was willing to sign the pledge, returning to China as a missionary after graduation. However, I refused to sign such a pledge for the following reasons:

(1) First, it would handicap and circumscribe my usefulness. I wanted the utmost freedom of action to avail myself of every opportunity to do the greatest good in China.

(2) In the second place, the calling of a missionary is not the only sphere in life where one can do the most good in China or elsewhere.

(3) In the third place, a pledge of that nature would prevent my taking advantage of any opportunity that might arise in the life of a nation like China.[5]

All through my college course in America, especially in the closing year, the lamentable condition in China was before my mind, weighing heavily on my spirits.[6] In despondent moods, I often wished that I had never been educated, as education had unmistakably enlarged my mental and moral horizon, and had revealed to me responsi-

[5] Twenty-two years old, three years in America.

[6] Common experiences of practically all Chinese students abroad then.

bilities which the sealed eye of ignorance can never see, and the sufferings and wrongs of humanity to which an uncultivated and callous nature is less sensitive.

Before the close of my last year in college, I had sketched out in my mind what I should do. Determined that the rising generation of China should enjoy the same educational advantages that I had enjoyed; and that China through western education should be regenerated, and become powerful and enlightened, to accomplish that *object* became the guiding star of my ambition. Towards this goal all my mental resources and energies were directed. Through thick and thin, through the vicissitudes of a checkered existence after 1854, when I returned to China, I labored and waited for its realization.

Yung Wing Returns to China

The first episode in entering upon my life's work, so weighted with my visions and my earnestness, was a voyage back to the old country, which I had not seen for nearly ten years, but which had never been absent from my mind's eye nor from my heart, always brooding over its welfare.

During the six months of my residence in Canton, while trying to recover both the written and spoken languages, Kwang Tung province was thrown into disorganization. The people of Can-

ton had attempted to start a provincial rebellion entirely distinct from the Taiping rebellion which was being carried on in the interior of China with marked success. To nip it in the bud, drastic measures were resorted to by Viceroy Yeh Ming Hsin, who, in the summer of 1855, beheaded seventy-five thousand people, most of them, I was told, were innocent. My residence was within half a mile of the execution ground, and one day, out of curiosity I ventured to walk over to the place. Oh! what a sight! The ground was drenched with human blood. On both sides of the driveway were to be seen headless human trunks, piled up in heaps, waiting to be taken away for burial.

In less than a year after my return to China, I had three times altered my point of view. . . . But in a strenuous life one needs to be a dreamer in order to accomplish anything. . . . Since I had had to work hard for my education, I felt that I ought to make the most of what little I had, not so much to benefit myself individually as to make it a blessing common to my race. By these shifts and changes of attitude I was only trying to find my true bearings.[7]

Having scored in a small way this educational victory by inducing the Viceroy to establish a me-

[7] From this time on his life was full of interesting adventures, including his visit to the Taipings in 1859, his first interview with Viceroy Tsang Kwoh Fan in 1863, and his mission to America to buy machinery.

chanical training school as a corollary to the arsenal, I felt quite encouraged concerning an educational scheme which had been lying dormant in my mind for the past fifteen years, awaiting an opportunity to be brought forward.

Besides Viceroy Tsang Kwoh Fan, whom I counted upon to back me in furthering the scheme, there was Ting Yih Chang, an old friend of mine, who had become an important factor in Chinese politics. . . . He told me that if I were to put my scheme in writing, he would forward it to Peking, and ask Wen Seang, the prime minister of China, a Manchu, to use his influence to secure its adoption. Such an unexpected piece of news came like a clap of thunder and fairly lifted me off my feet. I immediately left Suchau for Shanghai. . . . I drew up four proposals to be presented to Governor Ting, to be forwarded by him to Minister Wen Seang, at Peking.

Yung Wing Presents His Schemes to the Prime Minister

The first proposal concerned the organization of a Steamship Company on a joint stock basis. No foreigner was to be allowed to be a stockholder in the company. It was to be purely Chinese, managed and worked by Chinese exclusively. . . .

The second proposal was that the government should send selected Chinese youths abroad to be

thoroughly educated for the public service. The scheme contemplated the education of one hundred and twenty students as an experiment. These one hundred and twenty students were to be divided into four divisions of thirty students each, one division to be sent out each year. They were to have fifteen years to finish their education. Their average age was to be from twelve to fourteen years. If the first and second divisions were successful, the scheme was to be continued indefinitely. Chinese teachers were to be provided to keep up their knowledge of Chinese while in the United States. . . .

The third proposal was that the government be induced to open the mineral resources of the country and thus indirectly force upon the country the necessity of introducing railroads to transport the mineral products from the interior to the ports. . . .

The fourth proposal concerned the encroachment of foreign powers upon the independent sovereignty of China and the wisdom of prohibiting missionaries of all religious sects and denominations from exercising any kind of jurisdiction over their converts, in either civil or criminal cases. . . .

Of the four proposals, the first, third, and fourth were put in to cloak the second, on which my heart was bent, and which above all others was the one I wanted to have considered. But

in order not to give it too prominent a place, it was assigned, at the suggestion of my Chinese teacher, a second place in the order of the arrangement.[8]

The news of the death of the prime minister threw a cold blanket over my educational scheme for the time being. No one who has ever had a pet scheme to promote or a hobby to ride could feel more blue than I, when the cup of joy held so near to my lips was dashed from me. I was not entirely disheartened by such circumstances, and I still had faith that my educational scheme would in the end come out all right.

There was an interval of at least three years of suspense and waiting between 1868 and 1870.

Yung Wing's Dream Comes True

In the winter of 1870, however, Tsang Kwoh Fan, after having settled the Tientsin imbroglio, returned to Nanking, his headquarters as the viceroy of the two Kiangs. There he received an imperial communication sanctioning his joint memorial on the four proposals submitted through Ting Yih Chang for adoption by the government. He notified me of the fact. It was a glorious piece of news, and the Chinese educational project, which I had so long cherished, thus became a veri-

[8] These proposals were to go up to Peking to the prime minister who unfortunately died.

table historical fact, marking a new era in the annals of China.[9]

The educational commission was to consist of two commissioners, Chin Lan Pin and myself. It was to be Chin Lan Pin's duty to see that the students should keep up their knowledge of Chinese while in America; it was my duty to look after their foreign education and to find suitable homes for them.

In the latter part of the summer of 1872 the first installment of Chinese students, thirty in number, were ready to start on the passage across the Pacific to the United States. . . . In the fall of 1875 the last installment of students arrived.

In New England the heavy weight of repression and suppression was lifted from the minds of these young students; they exulted in their freedom and leaped for joy. No wonder they took to athletic sports with alacrity and delight![10]

After a few years stay in America, those youngsters quickly picked up American ways of behavior which alarmed the authorities at home. They were all ordered to return home at once in 1881, and Yung Wing was left in America.

[9] In 1870 a new crisis arose in China. It was the Tientsin Massacre. In settling the situation, Yung Wing was made an interpreter for the Chinese commissioners. His services in this matter brought him much recognition.

[10] Yung Wing, *My Life in China and America,* New York, 1909, pp. 1-203.

However, he did not give up his hope of revolutionizing China. After the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), he was called home, and consequently, took part in the so-called Reform Movement and the movement for New Learning with a group of Chinese scholars at the end of the century. The movement was considered too radical, and a "coup d'état" took place. Some of the leading scholars were beheaded, and Yung Wing was among those who fled from China to save their lives.

He remained in America till his death in 1912, after having lived to see the Chinese Revolution of 1911, and the founding of the new Republic in 1912. But the movement which Yung Wing started, and in which he was frustrated, rose after his exile like a tidal wave. Hundreds of Chinese youths followed in Yung Wing's wake and left China for American and European shores.

CHAPTER IV

THE VOYAGE OF THE ARGONAUTS

YUNG WING was the first Chinese student to study in a western country. In 1847, when he left Macao, and even as late as the 1880's, Chinese people considered sending their children to foreign lands a dangerous thing. Dr. Wu Ting Fang, one of the 120 Yung Wing's boys to go abroad, said:

Let me illustrate for you the unwillingness of our people to send their sons abroad, even when all the expenses were borne by the government. . . . I remember hearing a servant in a friend's house make the following statement: 'When I was a young fellow, an official came to my village and asked my parents whether they would allow me to be educated in the United States of America. Knowing nothing of the United States, and having heard that whenever a Chinese went there, the natives would remove his skin and graft the skin of some beast in his bleeding body, after which operation he would be taken all over the

country and exhibited as a wild man, they would not allow me to go." [1]

By 1900, after the Sino-Japanese War and the Boxer Rebellion, the attitude of the country had quite changed.

The editor of the World's Chinese Students' Journal wrote in 1907: "Over thirty years ago when Dr. Yung Wing organized his Educational Mission of 120 students to the United States of America, many young men refused to go, but now when there is any rumor of a Viceroy's despatching students abroad, applicants appear by the tens and hundreds, and we know personally of many young men who are saving up their cents and dollars, earned by toiling ten and twelve hours a day as teachers, in order to accumulate enough to start on their pilgrimage to the fountains of knowledge in the West." [2]

The reason is obvious. Formerly it was contrary to Chinese traditions for a "filial son" to be far away from his home. Moreover, the long isolation of China added weight to this traditional

[1] Wu Ting Fang, "Chinese Students in America," in *The World's Chinese Students' Journal,* Vol. III, July-August, 1908, Shanghai, p. 10.

[2] *The World's Chinese Students' Journal,* Vol. I, March-June, 1907, Editorials, "The New Education," p. 2.

attitude, for cultural isolation usually means ethnocentrism and consequently prejudice when the country at last comes into contact with a foreign culture. Practically all the Chinese students who went abroad before the Sino-Japanese War were sent by the Chinese Government not for the enrichment of Chinese culture, but rather to learn definitely about the armies and navies of the West. The Chinese saw very clearly that those peoples who killed their citizens, occupied their lands, and robbed their properties were the peoples who had strong armies and navies. Thus in 1876, the Government sent out forty-eight students from the Foochow Arsenal to Europe for the special purpose of studying navigation and shipbuilding.

Owing to a series of crises which shook the country from 1894 to 1900[3] the young men of China were very dissatisfied with things at home.[4] In the meantime, returned students had translated western books and some of the Chinese scholars who were in exile in foreign countries sent home "radical" literature concerning western life. It

[3] The Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) followed by the Reform Movement (1897-8), the coup d'état (1898) and the Boxer Rebellion (1900).

[4] See Chang Chi-tung, *China's Only Hope,* New York, 1900.

was during these tense and uncertain days that the young Chinese looked eagerly to the West for the magic which would solve the problems of their country, and it was in these days that the real voyage of the Chinese argonauts began.

The discouragement of those days is described in an article in the Fukien *Star*.

I was nineteen years old when the Sino-Japanese War broke out. China was painfully beaten this time! . . . People throughout the whole country were very pessimistic. You could see it by their expressions. The cry of the time was for reform and change. Thus a group of intellectuals started the Reform Movement in Peking in 1898. But after one hundred days the movement was blocked by the reactionary movement of the conservative party. Many of the best leaders were killed and some leading scholars fled to Japan where they published magazines for reform. My friends and I were very pessimistic and felt that China was hopeless and our government was too corrupt. However, we dared not say anything for fear of losing our heads. Two years later, the Boxer Rebellion came and the situation changed from bad to worse. A number of students committed suicide because of the hopeless situation! Our late friend Hwang Li-Sing was one of them. . . . We all knew that Japan was a stronger coun-

try than ours and in order to help the situation and to save the country, a group of us left Shanghai to study in Japan. Some of us even didn't know how to speak Japanese, but we went anyway.[5]

Dr. C. T. Wang who went to America at about the same time, said: "In this particular decade an unusual movement took place such as the world has never witnessed before. It was the great exodus of Chinese youths, the flower of the nation, to foreign countries, with the fixed determination to learn what the world has to teach. The great Renaissance Movement in Europe, which caused the Dark Ages to pass into oblivion, cannot even be compared with this spectacular phenomenon.

"Is it possible to point to any decade in preceding centuries when students of one nation, numbering by tens of thousands, migrated to every part of the world to search for more light? In 1906 in the city of Tokyo, Japan, alone, there were upwards of fifteen thousand students. Even in America and Europe, where only the most favored could go because of the greater difficulty in the mastering of the language, the longer distance, and the heavier expenditure, the number of our

[5] Translated from *Fukien Star.*

students rose from a few handfuls before 1900 to nearly ten thousand at the close of the first decade. . . . Youthful enthusiasm was set ablaze by lofty idealism. These young men who returned to China were in the full vigor of life, fresh from their studies abroad, and determined to do their share by their country. . . ." [6]

The voyage of these young men took three main directions, for most of the students went to Japan, America, and Europe. The number of Chinese students in Japan reached its highest point in 1906 and 1907 after the Russo-Japanese war. The cry of the time was "What Japan has done, China can also do!" The further reasons for this influx of Chinese into Japan appears in the lines of Chang Chi-tung: ". . . Cannot China follow the 'viam mediam' and learn a lesson from Japan? As the case stands to-day, study by travel can better be done in that country than in Europe for the following reasons: 1. Japan lies nearer to us than Europe and more men can be sent there for the same amount of money. 2. The language, literature, and customs of the Japanese are more closely allied to ours than those in any European

[6] C. T. Wang, "The Fight for a Constitutional Government in China," *American University Club of China,* lectures, 1921-22, pp. 85-86, Shanghai, 1922.

country. 3. A selection of important western books has been made from the countless volumes of Europe, and these have been translated into Japanese." [7]

The characteristics of the men and boys who went as students to Japan were described by a traveler in 1907: Since 1896 students have been flocking to Japan in increasing numbers in order to sit in the schools of their conquerors. . . . They are mostly from the interior provinces. . . . Half are self-supporting; the others are maintained by the national government or by their provinces. They vary in age from thirteen to forty years. In Japan they are received into government schools and private schools, some of which have been established especially for Chinese. The majority are studying engineering, law, military science, and medicine. Others are learning railroading, photography, weaving, and soap-making.

"Of those who went to Japan, nine-tenths arrived without any knowledge of the Japanese language and with no adequate preparation, and therefore had to spend some time in primary

[7] Chang Chi-tung, *China's Only Hope.* New York, 1900, pp. 91-93.

schools. Half of them returned to China after a year or two without having completed a secondary course. A little knowledge proved to be a dangerous thing for these men, easily swayed by strange doctrines and evolutionary ideas. . . . In 1905 there were 411 Chinese graduated from Japanese institutions. Of these many returned at once to China as teachers.

"The center of Chinese student life in Japan is Tokyo, where there is a club of 4,500 members, with a well-equipped club house. Here the greatest freedom of thought and speech is allowed. Political questions are discussed and governmental action is criticized without fear, in genuine student fashion. Innumerable influences emanating from this center are spread throughout China by magazines, pamphlets and newspapers. They advocate the building of railroads with Chinese capital and the adoption of the mandarin dialect as the common speech, in order that by these two means national unity may be secured." [8]

The chief object which these students had in going to Japan at this particular time, was, to be sure, more political than cultural. They were dis-

[8] Walker, C. S., "Army of Chinese Students Abroad," *World's Work,* Vol. XIII, pp. 8472-3, January, 1907.

satisfied with the Manchu Government, and not being free to express their feelings at home they found a good chance in Japan. For example, Chichao, then in exile in Japan, published a paper entitled, "The New Citizenship," with its headquarters in Kobe, preaching the necessity of a constitutional government in China, while Dr. Sun Yat-sen organized a revolutionary party with its headquarters in Tokyo, and published a paper entitled "The People," which had a circulation of 150,000.[9]

The number of Chinese students in Japan soon decreased however.

"The farce of Japanese education soon came to the knowledge of the Imperial Government, and in 1906 the Board of Education of Tokyo was instructed by our government to enforce strict regulations for the control of Chinese students. The publication of "The People" was stopped by force. As soon as this occurrence was reported in the newspapers, the Chinese students held a meeting in the hall of the Chinese Students' Alliance in Tokyo. The members were divided; some proposing to return and others to remain.

[9] Tsao, Y. S., "The Relation of the Returned Student to the Chinese Revolution," *Recent Development in China*, edited by G. H. Blackslee, New York, 1913.

As a result, however, more than one half left Japan."

"Within recent years (1906-1910) more have come back and fewer have gone to Japan for education. Many who returned established their own schools in China, while others were scattered all over the provinces either as students or as 'professors' or 'interpreters' in these colleges in the interior where Japanese-trained professors still hold their sway. Anyway the tremendous decrease of Chinese students in Japan is due both to the disrespect with which Japanese students are generally regarded by the government and the public, and to the rapid development of our educational system at home. More and more of our young men are now returning from their education in America and Europe to take up educational work in China, and the number of institutions engaging returned students as teachers and professors is rapidly increasing." [10]

The Chinese Revolution of 1911, the Twenty-one Demands of Japan in 1915, and the earthquake in Japan in 1923 did not tend to increase the number of Chinese students in Japan. There

[10] Ling Chi Hong, "Our Chinese Students in Japan," *World's Chinese Students' Journal,* Vol. VII, May, 1910, p. 332.

are about 2,000 Chinese students in Japan to-day. While the number of Chinese students going to Japan has been gradually decreasing, the number of those going to America and Europe has been steadily increasing.

After the 120 Chinese boys whom Yung Wing took to America were recalled in 1881, very few students went to America until 1900. Dr. S. K. Alfred Sze, Chinese minister to the United States, who was graduated from Cornell University in 1901, mentions the fact that when he attended Cornell twenty-seven years ago he was one of the five students in the entire country. But stirred by the craze for Western education, and discontented with conditions at home, the number coming to America has steadily increased.

CHINESE STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

1898	6
1905	106
1906	300
1910	650
1914	847
1918	1,500
1922	2,600

One reason for this steady increase is explained by Mr. E. S. Yui: "It was not until the close of the Boxer Outbreak in 1900 that our Government began to encourage Western education in China, and that more of our boys began to study abroad. When the United States in 1908 decided to return to China the surplus of her share of the Boxer indemnity fund, that offer afforded such of our students as had a sufficiently advanced standing, a splendid opportunity to study in America. But the largest number of Chinese students has poured into the States since the Revolution of 1911 and the establishment of the Chinese Republic. Over one hundred boys and girls now go over every year to the great Republic on the other side of the Pacific." [11]

While some of these students have been sent by the Government, by their provinces, and in other ways, those who have supported themselves have always been in the majority. Those sent abroad by the Government encounter keen competition. In 1907, for example, only thirteen out of six hundred applicants were eventually chosen.[12]

[11] Yui, E. S., "Chinese Students in the United States," *China in 1918*, edited by M. T. Z. Tyau, 1919, Shanghai, p. 49.

[12] Nanking.

Up to 1900, the Chinese Government had sent Chinese students to Europe on three occasions; forty-eight went in 1876, eighteen in 1886, and eighty in 1900, and it was the intention of the Chinese Government that all of them should study the national defense systems of western countries, including the army and navy. Dr. Wu Ting Fang, at one time Chinese Minister in Washington and subsequently acting premier of China, was one of the first Chinese to study in Europe. According to the statistics given by Y. S. Tsao, there were about 400 Chinese students in Europe before the Chinese Revolution (1910), of whom 200 were private students. The number of students in Europe before and after the war is indicated in the following statements:

Before the Great War broke out there were about 350 students in Great Britain, 100 in France, 60 in Belgium, 20 in Austria, 15 in Russia, and 20 in Holland.[13]

In 1923 there were 180 students in England, about 70 of them in London, 2,000 students in France, about three-fourths of whom were connected with the "Diligence-Labor-Simplicity Edu-

[13] Tyau, M. T. Z., *China Awakened,* 1922, New York, p. 23.

cational Society" established in Peking in 1915, and about one-half of them were in Paris. Of the 1,000 students in Germany, about 500 were in Berlin.[14]

The Diligence-Labor-Simplicity Educational Society was organized in 1915 under the leadership of Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei and other European returned students. Its purpose was to encourage students to get their higher education in France, while performing manual labor. In 1923, 2,000 students had already gone to France under its auspices.

This migration of Chinese students represents an interesting phenomenon in the history of human civilization. About ten thousand of these students have pursued their higher education in universities outside of China. Most of them are from nineteen to twenty-five years of age, which age, to be sure, is at least a little more mature than the age of Yung Wing's 120 boys who left China in the eighties.

The desire which almost all of these young men had in common was that they might be able to help solve some of the critical problems of China

[14] Y. Y. Tsu, "Chinese Students in European Countries," his speech to the Chinese students in Chicago after his coming back from Europe in 1923.

on their return as expressed in an abstract from a Chinese student's diary:

Before coming to this country in 1921, I went first to Shanghai where I met about 160 Chinese students who were to sail for the United States. During the ten days before we left Shanghai, we were entertained by different organizations, the newspapers, Y.M.C.A., the Commercial Press, The World's Chinese Students' Federation and others. "The fate of the New China depends upon you," was the general theme of all the speeches we heard.

When we were on board and about to leave Shanghai our relatives, friends, teachers, and schoolmates said the same thing to us. Their hope for a New China was expressed in the tears they shed when we left for our education in other lands.[15]

We stayed together on the same steamer for about 21 days. There we met students and friends from different provinces in China. Whenever we met we talked about the things going on in our respective provinces. Whenever we had mass meetings practically all the speeches concerned the idea that "we are the hope of China's future."

We arrived at San Francisco, September 3rd, 1921, and scattered from there to different places

[15] See P. W. Kuo, "China's Advanced Education for the Past Fifty Years," 1923, Shanghai, pp. 8-9.

throughout the whole country. We then entered new groups of Chinese students. I became a member of the local Chinese Students' Club, which in turn belongs to the National Chinese Students' Association and to the World's Chinese Students' Federation.[16]

When American students flocked to Europe in the search for a higher education during the last century, they came in touch with culture that was not entirely strange. It was different, however, with the Chinese students who came to Europe or America. They not only came in contact with an entirely new type of culture; they had to speak a different language, to dress differently, to eat differently, and to behave differently. In fact, they had to adapt all their habits to a new cultural atmosphere. Consequently a striking change in their behavior took place. The experience of these 120 youngsters—boys of about fourteen years of age, brought over by Yung Wing in the eighties, shows very amusingly what happens to an impressionable young Oriental in America.

"One hundred twenty students were located in homes throughout the Connecticut Valley. . . .

[16] See P. W. Kuo, "China's Advanced Education for the Past Fifty Years," 1923, Shanghai, pp. 8-9.

They wore their queues and were expected to maintain Chinese customs." [17]

"A few years later the newly arrived commissioner from China noted with alarm the 'Americanization' of the young men who were to be under his charge. They wanted to play baseball, they assumed the swagger and independent manners of college men, they made love to American young ladies, in short, they had adopted and assimilated too much of the American spirit and too much of American ways and manners to suit his conservative ideas." [18]

The following abstracts show what changes in external behavior, reflections of more profound changes, were going on in the minds and imaginations of the students in Europe and America.

I was twenty-one years old when I came to this country in the summer of 1920, a student from Boone University, Wushing, China. Believing that America had more advanced technical schools than ours. My purpose in coming was for higher education. I entered the University of Chicago as a sophomore in the Department of Political Economy.

[17] Walker, C. S., "The Army of Chinese Students Abroad," *World's Work*, Vol. XIII, p. 8472, January, 1907.

[18] Wu Ting Fang, "Chinese Students in America," *World's Chinese Students' Journal*, Vol. III, July-August, 1908, Shanghai, p. 10.

My interest in China increased the longer I was away. Always I carry a clear picture of her in my mind but as long as I was in China my picture was not so clear, my thought being centered on my immediate locality, the city of Wushang. A different picture also of our own Chinese civilization has come to me. While in China I was overwhelmed with the critical issues emerging to cloud our old civilization. It is now clear, and I can think of all the beautiful culture we have in China.

Discontentment with things at home was one of the greatest forces urging me to go to America. But, America I found was not the ideal country which I had visioned, but far behind us in many things. . . .

While visiting Chinatown, I was greatly shocked to see how the Americans treat our nationals. I had encountered race prejudice for the first time. After that I doubted all that our missionary friends told me while I was at home. . . .

My attitude toward religion changed too. While I was in China, my religious beliefs were more or less superstitious. Our missionaries were a little responsible for that. But having come here and had contact with different kinds of people, I found out that Americans were very conservative and often superstitious. Many of the so-called Christians were Christians only in name. They thought themselves superior to others. An-

other reason for my change in attitude was that I read more about religion. I began to think more about Confucius than ever before. This period of change from a superstitious attitude toward religion to a more scientific attitude toward life and from an emotional attitude to a more intellectual attitude covered about a year.[19]

And another:

My life has undergone tremendous change during my three years in this country to which I came in 1921, a graduate of the University of Fukien. In fact the changes during the first twenty-two years of my life are not to be compared with those of the last three.

First of all, these years have brought release from emotional disturbances over political events in China. Next there was a gradual change in my outlook which made me aspire to be intelligent and open-minded.

My conception of China was greatly changed in that I am now very hopeful of our Homeland, our beautiful civilization, and the progressive movements going on at home. On the other hand, I realize that many changes are necessary, and so we must go forward, but critically.

In regard to religion I have undergone a revolt. Before I came to this country, I used to be called an earnest Christian. Struck with the fact

[19] Interview with a Chinese student.

that there are many hypocritical Christians in this country and that the so-called Christian nations are fighting each other, I have begun to doubt everything. They are not intelligent. I want to be free from such superstitious beliefs. My attitude toward the missionaries at home entirely changed. I think they are on the wrong path in China.

This was indeed a great and difficult adjustment of mind which I had to make. Gradually I stopped praying. I began to think more of Confucius and other great scholars, and my interest in religion directed itself to finding an intelligent way of thinking. I believe that each religion, be it Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, or what not, is simply a product of a certain culture. As cultures are different in different places, so religions are different. There is no reason to assume that one religion is superior to another. Each can contribute something through sympathetic contact.

Although I am very proud of our Chinese Civilization my attitude toward it is different too. I realize now that when I was in China, I was proud of our civilization unconsciously. I was not aware of it because we were involved in critical situations at home. I believe that our civilization has to be remade with the help of the western civilization, and that a new civilization may come into being. I am glad that China's youth are the leaders in this movement.

My change of attitude toward our civilization was perhaps caused by my contact with American friends. Many of them thought that their civilization was the best one and that they had nothing to learn from others. This narrow view, I disliked, and became conscious of myself. I wanted to be, not provincial like them, but able to face the facts intelligently.[20]

The idealization of China and the interest of these young men in her future is also reflected in the following document:

Far away in the east, beyond the snow-capped summits of the Alpine mountains, beyond the panic-stricken cities of the Ottoman Empire, which, it seems, only yesterday were reeking with blood, and beyond Teheran, the capital of Persia, . . . lies the vast Chinese Empire. . . . There, in that magnificent country, toward which our eyes turn longingly, is the home of our forefathers, our birthplace, the pride and idol of all the patriotic sons and daughters of China. . . . We are in a foreign country. . . . Some of us go to the United States of America, some come to Great Britain, and others repair to France, Germany, Belgium, Russia, Austria. Scattered as hundreds of us are, among different peoples; nevertheless, we are identical in our aims and aspirations. We

[20] A personal letter.

feel that China is weak, yet we are proud that she has been preserved through the vicissitudes of over four thousand years. . . . In order that she should recover her pristine glory we must make her "wide awake." We must shoulder the responsibility of regenerating our hoary Empire. Our task is the noblest that has ever been allotted to mankind to perform, and our responsibilities are correspondingly great. . . . China is moving, and rapidly, too. . . . Our Fatherland is in a very critical stage. . . . Dwelling amidst this civilization of the West, we should bring into play our best powers of selection and judgment. . . . What we should do is to place our Chinese civilization and this Occidental civilization side by side, and make our selection. . . . Only by doing that, can we obtain a civilization that is desirable in every respect. . . . If the Orient is to learn from the Occident, it is we who must consummate this, and if the West is to receive what the East has to bestow, it is we who are the proper transmitters. . . . Whatever we say or do will reflect either discredit or honor on our Fatherland and on our heads. . . . Let us be united together into an active, coherent whole, interdependent and interrelated.[21]

Sharing their common experience at home,

[21] Tyau, M. T. Z. "Our Mission and Responsibilities," *World's Chinese Students' Journal,* March, 1910, pp. 272-77.

their common hopes and dreams, and their common difficulties in foreign lands, they can and do have very intimate contacts among themselves. Although they come from different provinces and otherwise never have a chance to know each other because of the vastness of the country, its lack of railroads and its difference in dialect, they can, while here establish mutual understanding in local clubs, national associations of Chinese students, student societies, and fraternities. They keep in touch with each other also by their student publications, such as the *Chinese Students' Monthly* in America. Provincialism has for these students, disappeared, and nationalism, radicalism and internationalism has taken its place. The new attitudes of these students are well represented by their various societies.

In 1905, about one hundred of these students held a conference in Amherst, Massachusetts, where their common attitude was demonstrated.

"These Chinese were dressed in American style and wore no queues. There were athletes among them, men of iron nerve and abundant vitality condensed into bodies of medium stature. They talked in different dialects and though many were strangers to one another in a strange land, all used

English as their common speech. Among them were students from the leading colleges and universities of America who had not only held their own in competition with the Anglo-Saxon, but had even snatched from him the coveted honor. All were animated by the same spirit and their college yell was 'C-H-I-N-A—The NEW CHINA.'" [22]

Since the beginning of the migration of the Chinese students in 1847 China has seen troubled times. The "lamentable condition" at home, as Yung Wing expressed it, has greatly affected those voyagers even when they were in foreign lands, and has demanded their attention upon their return. Some of them have expressed their patriotism in poetry and other forms of literature during their stay abroad. In 1900 for example, a student wrote:

Awake my country, sweet Cathay;
Awake! here dawns a glorious day!
Awake from slumbers long and deep!
Awake from soul benumbing deep!

Dream not of greatness past and gone,
Of peaceful victories nobly won!

[22] Walker, C. S., "The Army of Chinese Students Abroad," *World's Work*, Vol. XIII, p. 8471, January, 1907.

The day of greater things has come—
Duty calls, wilt thou be dumb?

A myriad foes encompass thee—
Awake, my country and be free!
Let tyrants feel thy righteous rage!
Bid foes restore thy heritage!

Awake my country, sweet Cathay!
Rise and resume thy rightful sway!
The Prince of Progress stands o'er thee—
He speaks the word—Lo, thou art free! [23]

Indeed the origins of many a modern movement in China can be traced to the ideas and plans made by these students while in foreign lands. When the revolution of 1911 started in China, thousands of revolutionary students were still abroad, and even Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the father of the Chinese revolution, was traveling in a foreign land. Hu Suh started the Literary Revolution at home by contributing an article to the "New Youth" magazine in 1917, while he was still a student at Columbia University.[24]

These thousands of Chinese students who went

[23] Written in 1906, reflecting the spirit of the time, namely the rise of national consciousness in China. Published in the *Chinese Students Monthly,* Vol. X, 1914.

[24] See Chapter IX, "The Literary Revolution."

to other countries with the idea of taking back to China whatever they thought would be useful to her development as a modern nation, differed from other students in foreign countries in that they all conceived their personal destinies to be bound up with the reforms and changes which seems so bitterly necessary to China. It was the future of China that they dreamed of and planned for during the years of their voluntary exile, and it was with the conviction that they would be able to accomplish the regeneration of China that they returned to their native homes.

CHAPTER V

THE ARGONAUTS RETURN

In contrast to Professors Park and Miller's "Old World Traits Transplanted," the yearly homecoming of Chinese students, fresh from their study in foreign countries, may be said to be "New World Traits Transplanted." During their student years they become new persons; and on their return they regard affairs at home critically. Dr. Hu Suh writes:

"When I was about to leave America for home, some of my Chinese friends said to me: 'Mr. Hu, you have been absent from home now for more than seven years, and in these seven years, China has already gone through three revolutions. . . . When you go back, you may not be able to recognize the old Empire of seven years ago.' I laughed and said: 'Don't you worry about me. She is afraid to go too fast, because if she does, her returned students would not recognize her. So she goes very fast a few steps forward and immediately takes a few steps backward. As she is at this moment stepping backward, I shall have a chance to see her old face.'

"It was not a joke; it was perfectly true. I usually advised the returned students not to be too hopeful, for the more they hope the more discouragement they are likely to meet. When my steamer reached Japan, I heard the news of Chang Hun's attempt to reëstablish the monarchy. Now, I have been at home four months, and what I have seen and heard coincides with what I had expected. China of seven years ago still shows her old face! After spending two hours in a theater, I remarked to a friend: 'The name of the theater is quite new, and the building is quite modern . . . but the plays are still classical plays!'

"I stayed twelve days in Shanghai, one month in the interior and two months in Peking, and wandered around on the streets for twenty days. I was struck by two things: Three Cannons Tobacco and poker games were lamentable innovations.

". . . There are a number of books on poker in the book stores. . . . But the books on philosophy and other kindred subjects are still classical! The intellectual hunger of the people was everywhere apparent!

"There are those who say that education will save our country, but in my opinion, it will probably ruin the country. . . .

"I have already written three or four thousand words, most of which have been of a pessimistic tone. But I am not a pessimist. There has been

great progress in China during the last twenty years, but the trouble is that China has been too lazy and inconsistent." [1]

New ideas, like scientific inventions, however, encounter opposition. Before the Revolution of 1911, returned students were as a whole poorly treated. When Yung Wing's one hundred and twenty students were ordered back to China in 1881, they were lodged in the old Examination Hall in Shanghai, guarded by soldiers and kept like prisoners. And in 1899, "Chang Chi-tung executed thirteen of them in Wuchang, among them, a nephew of Yung Wing. Another nephew escaped by jumping from a second story window, and taking passage on a steamship. Yung Wing was in Peking at that time, but Chang Chi-tung's unrelenting vigilance secured his arrest. Kept in a temple, he was chained and closely watched." [2]

From the very beginning, Yung Wing found himself in conflict with the traditionally conservative attitude of the Chinese people and the Chinese government in regard to western civilization. Opposition by force merely intensified the revolt.

[1] Hu Suh, *Selected Writings,* Vol. IV, pp. 1-2, January, 1918.

[2] Suvoog, V. D., "The Late Dr. Yung Wing," 1912.

Dr. Yen Fuh, a returned student from England, who translated the philosophical works of Spencer, Darwin, Huxley, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Adam Smith, did so in the face of opposition. Dr. Jame Tien-yu, one of Dr. Wing's students, built the first Chinese railway in 1905 in spite of the traditional "Fung-shui"[3] superstition. He was known as "The father of Chinese railways."

After the Russo-Japanese War, and the conflict between the returned students and the Government became more and more intense, students in foreign lands were very much discontented with the shortcomings of their own government in China. Secret and revolutionary societies were quickly started among the returned students and the students in foreign lands. The late Sun Yat-sen wrote:

"The basis of my revolutionary movement is essentially democratic, based on the solidarity, the rights, the happiness of people. . . . In 1885, this movement had only a few friends. After the Sino-Japanese War, I traveled to South

[3] Fung-Shui is a set of rather complicated beliefs in the magical influences of the surrounding landscape on a house and its inhabitants. The magical connection between a lake and a mountain might be destroyed by a railroad passing between the two.

Islands [4] and to America. . . . Returning to Europe in 1905, I found that the majority of Chinese students in those countries were in sympathy with our revolutionary movement. And going to Japan, I found that many Chinese students from all provinces and all classes joined us. In 1911 many of our members were killed.[5]

"Twenty-five students returned from America and about the same number left Europe at that time, while Japan emptied her whole consignment into the cauldron." [6]

From the Sino-Japanese War to the founding of the Republic in 1911, the nature of their revolt had been mainly political, participants believing that China would be saved by getting rid of the monarchical government. The "Republic of China" may be said to have been brought into being by the returned students.

But, gradually, they learned that political and external changes were not enough and that China's salvation lay deeper. Many, losing interest in politics and politicians, began to devote their time to bringing about a change in the "inner life" of

[4] Several small islands south of the province of Kwangtung.

[5] Sun Yat-sen, *China's Revolution. The Past Fifty Years.* Part II, No. VI, pp. 1-2, Shanghai, 1922.

[6] Y. S. Tsao, *Ibid.*, p. 173.

the people, placing their hope in the boys who had been educated in the modern schools of China, and who were, like themselves, very restless and dissatisfied. They sought now, not a new government, but a new culture. This shift of interest is shown in the life of Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei, a leader in China's cultural revolution.

"Dr. Tsai was born of poor parents January 11, 1867. He became a follower of the old Confucian school. Before the Sino-Japanese War, at the age of twenty-six, he was already well versed in the national literature of China. After the Sino-Japanese War, prominent Chinese scholars emphasized the value of Western learning. So Dr. Tsai read newly translated books. He also took part in the Reform Movement in 1898 and attributed its suppression and failure to the fact that "there are not enough men with our point of view. How can so few hope to prevail over the stupid conservative majority! With all faith in the Peking Government gone, I shall devote my whole time to education."

He became very revolutionary. In all the schools where he taught, he got into trouble with the conservative people for preaching human rights and freedom of thought. He took active

part in organizing a patriotic society in Shanghai; he cut off his queue and learned military drill. At the same time he established with the help of his friends a magazine called the "The Alarm Bell," in which they translated revolutionary articles concerning the Russian revolutionary movement and the French Revolution.

With a great longing to go abroad to study, he sailed in 1907. He studied in Berlin and in the University of Leipzig, his study covering a wide variety of subjects. He wrote the "History of Chinese Ethics."

While in Germany, the revolution broke out in China. He was called back to be the first Minister of Education of the new republic. The new aim of education he said was "to instill into the minds of the people the right knowledge of liberty, equality, and fraternity. This moral training is to be supplemented by an industrial and military education and rounded out by an esthetic one."

Discouraged after experience with corrupt officials, he left for Leipzig in 1912. The assassination of his friend Sun in China took him back one year later. The outcome was a second unsuccessful revolution. Returning when the World War broke out the next year, he went to France

where he wrote "The Principles of Philosophy."

Called back to be the Chancellor of the National University of Peking, he declared openly that from that time on, he would pay no attention to politics. "Let these corrupt officials go their way," he said. Freedom of thought he declared was to be the watchword of the university, as he revolutionized it and inspired the students with new life. The university was to be the center, and its students the leaders of, a new culture. As he drew returned students from different countries and prominent scholars in China to his institution, eventually the National University of Peking became the center of the cultural revolution in China, a culture which included knowledge of both the Orient and the Occident.[7]

Dr. Tsai's experience is similar to the experiences of many other returned students who first placed their hope of regenerating China in a change of government, later recognizing that the change must be a more fundamental one.

[7] An abstract from *The Life and Work of Tsai Yuan-pei*, in Chinese, two volumes, *The Renaissance Society*, Peking, 1920, pp. 580.

CHAPTER VI

THE ADVENT OF THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

DURING the Chinese Revolution of 1911 the nation was conscious of a new class of young Chinese abroad in the land. "These youngsters," wrote an old scholar, "had their eyes opened by the magical touch of the modern schools. They took part in various reform movements; they were opposed to footbinding, to foreign drugs; and even wanted to get rid of the Manchu Government!"

"New Chinese youth" does not refer merely to the influx of students from abroad. In 1901 a movement for modern education began in China, the old system of examinations was abolished, the "shu yuan"[1] in the provincial capitals were changed into colleges; those in the prefects, into middle schools; and those in the counties, into primary schools. From different parts of the country students poured into these modern schools

[1] Old Chinese Schools for Matured Students.

with hopes and aspirations similar to those of the students who poured into foreign lands. From over one hundred thousand students in modern schools in 1905, the number leaped to two million in 1911. In 1922 there were over six million.[2] At the same time thousands of students who had been studying abroad became their teachers, indirectly influencing them to take revolutionary measures. A description of student activities in a city during the Revolution, follows:

"October 18, 1911.

"Two hundred and fifty students from neighboring schools met this afternoon at the Military-Drill Field, Nantai, Foochow, China. We paid great attention in these days to learning how to shoot, etc., for revolutions had been going on in various important provinces. Mr. Pong (the leader of the drilling group) was strangely dressed. About five o'clock, when it was rather dark, he gathered us together, and talked to us about the revolutions going on, telling us that we were to start a revolution that night in Foochow! While we were silent, he wept for the weakness of our country, the corruption of our government, the wild and aggressive tendencies of foreign na-

[2] *Statistical Summaries of Chinese Education,* Peking, China, 1923, p. 5.

tions and the need for a strong government to give freedom. 'Those who are willing to be patriots, step forward!' he cried. Mr. Li, leader of our school and a famous athlete, went forward first. Older students followed him.

"We younger students were led back to the schools and were cautioned to stay there and say nothing. I overheard that the revolution was to be started at 3 o'clock the next morning. All those to participate had revolvers. I could not sleep. It was a moon-light night. I saw that many older boys had their uniforms on. They climbed over the school wall to join the party. I had my eyes on the city all the time, for it was nearly three o'clock. Suddenly a blue light burst in the middle of the city and a big explosion followed it! Then there were guns! And cannons! The sky was red and there was the sound of guns from all over the city. I went back to my room to find brother and all his friends gone.

"October 19, 1911.

"News reached at the school that two of our friends had been killed and that many schoolmates had disappeared. We organized a group that we called the 'Red Cross,' and went into the city. We knew that the People's Army was at the Yu Hill, which was the most important site, as cannons could be fired in any direction. Desperate fighting went on there all morning. We

had street-fights, in which General Sung's army helped us. Reaching Yu Hill, to our great surprise, we found many of our schoolmates, practically all of them were good runners and throwers. Many merchants helped us too, bringing food, etc.

"Returning home that afternoon, we saw the flags of 'five colors' hanging in many places, flags, we were told, secretly made by girl-students of Hua-Nang Women's College. The revolutionists had taken the city! But we still watched very carefully for there were many troublesome government soldiers scattered around.

"Evening, October 19, 1911. A friend and I went out for a walk. We visited the headquarters of the student-army, meeting many students from different schools. Some were preparing to go out to guard duty. My friend who was older than I, asked whether we might join them. They consented. Each took a heavy gun. I wore a long coat. Not being allowed to do guard duty wearing that coat, I hurried back to school to change it. My brother was there. He said I was too young, seized my gun and left." [3]

The students of the whole nation, however, responded with the same enthusiasm. "Like the blowing of the wind and the gushing of the water, like the rolling of thunder, all things under the heavens are stirred. The youth of the nation have

[3] Extract from a student's diary.

sacrificed their blood in founding the brave and beautiful Republic of China. . . . For this, let us be thankful and rejoice! But . . . the Manchu Government still functions in the North. . . . For this reason, we have gathered together a group of young men from different educational centers. We have formed an army and we have sworn to carry out our Northern Expedition. Our aim is to clean up the Manchu that this glorious continent may have peace. All patriotic youths must join us. . . . We . . . shall meet all of you under the 'Flag of the Five Colors!' "[4]

The success of the Revolution made the students believe that their hopes and dreams had been realized. Their National Anthem reflected this attitude:

"To all the nations of the Orient,
China as a pioneer is sent,
The ancient fatherland is born anew
Fair our republic is, fresh as the dew;
The rainbow colored flag aloft we bear,
Our emblem sweet, waves in the tranquil air;

[4] Manifesto of the Students' Northern Expedition, *The Chinese Revolution,* Commercial Press, Shanghai, May, 1912, pp. 111-133. The Students' Army of the Republic of China. Its Aim: To get rid of the rule of the Aristocratics, to form a Republic, and to destroy all the elements harmful to that republic and to secure the World Peace.

In China's culture we may all rejoice,
And for the world's peace, we may raise our voice."

The students cut off their queues; tore down the dragon flags and put in their place the flag of five colors which represented "Benevolence, Righteousness, Harmony, Wisdom, and Truth," they looking hopefully forward to what might come next.

But chaos and confusion followed the disappearance of the old government, and the subsequent conditions could not but make them discouraged. Yuan Shih K'ai's attempt to become Emperor, the high-handed actions of the militarists, the civil wars,—all these quenched the hopes of the young enthusiasts. The Manchus had gone, but militarists and corrupt officials had taken their place. In the meantime, the world war broke out and China was frightened by the Japanese Twenty-one Demands.

As a result of this distressing situation, the people lost faith in politics and looked around for something more basic and fundamental. So Huang Yuan-yung, one of the leading publicists of the day, who had spent many years in political activities, wrote the following repentant words:

"In my humble opinion, politics is in such confusion that I am at a loss to know what to say. Our ideal schemes will have to be buried and unearthed by future generations. . . . As to the fundamental salvation of China, I believe its beginning must be sought in the promotion of a new literature. In short, we must endeavor to bring Chinese thought into direct contact with the contemporary thought of the world, and thereby accelerate its awakening. And we must see to it that the basic ideals of the world thought are related to the life of the average man. The method would seem to consist in using a simple and simplified language and literature for the wide dissemination of ideas among the people. Do we not know that historians regard the Renaissance as the foundation of the overthrow of medievalism in Europe?" [5]

Although the name of the government had been changed from a monarchy to a democracy, the life and thought of the old order had, of course, remained. It was at this time that Chen Tu-seu, a newly returned student, and Dean of the National University of Peking, gathered together a group of youth and published the magazine called *La Jeunesse,* or *New Youth,* in Peking. The first article, Chen Tu-seu's "My Solemn Appeal

[5] *The Tiger,* Vol. I, No. 10.

to Youth," marks the beginning of the Youth Movement:

"An old Chinese maxim says: 'Be old while you are young'; the English and Americans have just the opposite idea. 'Stay young while you are growing old' is their cry. Is not this one of the most interesting differences between the Eastern and Western peoples? . . .

"Is our society growing or decaying? I dare not say how it seems to me. And I cannot stop to argue with those who are figuratively decaying.

"But what I want to say, and to say with tears, is that I hope those of you who are young will be self-conscious and that you will struggle. By self-consciousness, I mean that you are to be conscious of the power and responsibility of your youth and that you are to respect it. Why do I think you should struggle? Because it is necessary for you to use all the intelligence you have to get rid of those who are decaying, who have lost their youth. Regard them as enemies and beasts; do not be influenced by them, do not associate with them.

"Oh, young men of China! Will you be able to understand me? Five out of every ten whom I see are young in age, but old in spirit; nine out of every ten are young in health, but they are also old in spirit. . . . When this happens to a

body, the body is dying. When it happens to a society, the society is perishing. Such a sickness cannot be cured by sighing in words; it can only be cured by those who are young, and in addition to being young are courageous. . . . We must have youth if we are to survive, we must have youth if we are to get rid of corruption. Here lies the only hope for our society." [6]

This whole article, the first of its kind, was a literary bombshell in its influence upon the youth of China.

Although the new magazine was the expression of a comparatively small group in Peking, it met with an immediate and wide response; as it gave orientation to the thought of the younger generation in all the larger centers of China. In the first issue, indicative of the new thoughts stirring in young Chinese minds, we find these articles: France and Modern Civilization, Democracy and the Self-Consciousness of Youth, The Problem of the Old and New, Thoughts on Woman by

[6] His six perceptions were that the mind of the younger generation should be: self-masterful and not servile, progressive and not conservative, aggressive and not feeble, internationalistic and not narrowly nationalistic, pragmatic and not dogmatic, scientific and not speculative.

New Youth, Vol. I, No. I, September, 1915. Also, Chen T. S. *Selected Essays,* pp. 1-10, Vol. I, The Oriental Book Co., Shanghai.

Max O'Rell, Spring Tide, The History of Modern Civilization, The True Citizen by W. F. Mark-Wick, The Youth by W. A. Smith.

"When this number was published, I was in Shanghai. It came to us like a clap of thunder which awakened us in the midst of a restless dream. The name of the magazine was, first of all, very fascinating. Students rushed to the Commercial Press for copies, but they were all gone. Orders for more copies were sent posthaste to Peking. I don't know how many times this first issue was reprinted, but I am sure that more than two hundred thousand copies were sold." [7]

This magazine became a force. It gave release and direction to energies now thoroughly aroused. In it a new culture had found expression. "Since our government is a republic," wrote Chen Tu-seu, "it is absurd to cling to our old morality. Democracy implies independence, equality, and liberty, which are inconsistent with old morality; it is necessary to get rid of one or the other. . . . Since our intimate contact with Western civilization, our first consciousness was that of technical things. . . . Our second conscious-

[7] From a document.

ness was political. . . . But our government has proved to be a failure. . . . From now on our greatest problem is the problem of culture."

With his group of young men, mostly of whom are students, he started to attack the foundation of the old morality, Confucianism. The fact was that immediately after the Revolution, a group of conservatives, headed by Dr. Chen Chung-yan, founded "The New Confucian Association," and at the same time, a group of old scholars and officials, under the leadership of Kung Yu-wei, decided to make Confucianism the State Religion of China. Kung Yu-wei reasoned that only primitive peoples have no religion and if China gave up her religion, she would be called uncivilized. He begged the government to recognize Confucius as China's religious master and Confucianism the religion of the Constitution.

Chen Tu-seu opposed Kung for wishing to revive a religion, historically used to harm one's enemies and which emphasized social differences and inequalities. He affirmed that Confucianism was dead because it failed to meet modern needs. Why should the Confucian Association want to determine the Nation's religion? China should have freedom to choose. The rituals of Confu-

cianism are based on the kind of fidelity (as of minister to king; or son to father),—the morality of inequality and injustice. "Had China no contact with modern culture, she would have nothing to criticize in Confucianism, but since she is a republic, she must follow the trend of the world's civilization. She cannot hold fast to an inequality and injustice in contradiction with modern civilization.[8]

In "Confucianism and Modern Life," Chen Tu-seu made the following points: First, the principle of filial piety involves the idea of a double ethical standard. Second, a woman is enslaved to her husband, father, parent-in-law, and even to her sons. Third, the emancipation of woman is one of the most important questions in the modern world, yet Confucianism decidedly opposes the movement. The taboo on the remarriage of widows, the segregation of the male from the female, and the prohibition of independent action are the essence of Confucianism. Confucianism should be eliminated or China might just as well be under an autocratic government.

Chen's group was greatly reënforced by young

[8] Chen Tu-seu, "Criticism of Kung Yu-wei's Telegram to the President and the Premier," November, 1916.

scholars and students, among whom Wu Ni, a returned student from Japan, and Hu Suh, from America, being conspicuous figures. Hu Suh considered Wu Ni the one who had cleared the road for the attack on Confucianism.

"While I hold that Confucius was a great man in his time," wrote Wu Ni to Mr. Chen, "yet there are those who want to insist upon his teachings to arrest the development of thought in this modern time. . . . It is natural that we should have to attack them. Mr. Liang Chi-chao is right when he says, 'I love Confucius not the less, but I love Truth more.' . . . I have written many articles, but most of them have been censored by the Government." [9]

"I have learned from my friends of your genius," wrote Mr. Chen in reply. "I have long looked to you! I am, indeed, happy to have your letter. . . . Please let us have some of your writings to be published in the 'New Youth.' . . . No matter what the theories or teachings may be, it is not wisdom to let one group dominate the rest." [10]

Following their attack against Confucianism the searchlight of public opinion was turned on

[9] Wu Ni, *Wu Ni Writings,* Shanghai, pp. 11-13.
[10] *Ibid.*

all the institutions of China. A "Family Revolution";[11] a "Funeral Revolution"; a "Theatre Revolution"; a "Freedom and Equality between Father and Son Revolution"; and even a "Birth Control Revolution," were begun. Ancestor worship and other superstitions were thrown overboard.

A youth in the "Family Revolution" wrote:

"Undesirable personalities spring from undesirable families; undesirable nations are formed by undesirable families. . . . We don't need to blame the evil militarists and officials; they are made by their evil families. . . . Our Chinese family is the source of all evils! . . . Political revolution is of no use; it is a failure! . . . The fundamental way to attack the evils in society is to begin with the 'family revolution!' . . . Our Chinese family system is a few thousand years old. . . . It has two great evils; the father's power over the family, and the size of the family. . . . The harm that results may be classified under four headings: 1. The individual personality is lowered; . . . 2. A spirit of dependence is created; . . . 3. Individual development is suppressed; . . . 4. In a big family, the members usually do not get along peacefully. . . . Thus

[11] "The Fundamental Problem of the Chinese Morality of Today," *The Renaissance*, No. 2, Peking, 1919.

for the sake of individual happiness, the family's peace, and the progress of the race . . . the Chinese family must be changed into a simple family, consisting of a husband and a wife. . . .

"The worst element in the spirit of the old family is its aristocracy. . . . I don't mean to say that children should not be filial to their parents. . . . But I insist that their relationship should be based on natural human love. . . . The relationship between the old and the young, between parents and children should be entirely equal. . . . Why should a husband be allowed to marry concubines, while a widow may not remarry? . . . Why should a boy be considered a master in the family, while a girl is looked upon as a maid-servant? . . . This age is an age of democracy, and medieval ideas, no matter where they are, must be destroyed at once! This aristocratic poison should be 'washed out' by the democratic spirit. . . . The only aim should be to create a happy, and peaceful home. . . . All the superstitions at home should be aired in the light of the scientific spirit. . . . All the false prestige, . . . the extravagance at funerals should be based on simplicity and truthfulness. . . . The marriage between a boy and a girl should be based fundamentally on love. . . . Parents should have nothing to do with it. . . . But according to the old Chinese custom, they have tremendous power over marriages. . . . The age-old family system does

not meet the needs of our modern life, and all the social unrest and the evils in society have resulted because this old family has lost its control and its status. If we don't want to be a backward people, we must direct our whole attention to revolutionizing the family first." [12]

As a result of the discouragement with politics that prevailed after the Revolution, the Youth Movement came into being in 1915. It was with Confucianism and the family system, and not with governmental machinery, that the members of the Youth Movement first occupied themselves.

[12] "Family Revolution," in *Family Revolution,* a special number, *The Ladies' Home Journal,* September, 1923, pp. 2-11.

CHAPTER VII

THE CRADLE OF THE MOVEMENT: THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF PEKING

It was natural that the leaders of the Youth Movement, having failed in their efforts to reform the government, should turn their eyes to the youth of the land, with the hope of rebuilding the nation through them. And so the National University of Peking, the most famous of China's schools, became the center of the movement. There is a saying that the University of Peking and the Peking government were twin-born. Organized at the end of the last century after the Sino-Japanese War, this institution, in existence for the promotion of Chinese culture, nevertheless came to be a training school for officials.

Called back from Europe in 1916, to be Chancellor of the University when the attack against Confucianism had already begun, Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei set his face firmly against the perpetuation of such a university. In his inaugural address, January, 1917, he made clear his intentions of

completely changing the life of the school and predicted a change of attitude of students if they wished to remain.

". . . Now that I am to be the president of the University, I have three things to say to you. The first is in regard to your coming here. . . . A university is a place for research. There is criticism that our institution is being corrupted because students are acquiring an education merely that they may become officials some day. This leads many to specialize in law rather than in the arts, literature, or social sciences. Those entering the field of natural sciences are still fewer. They know that the study of law is the highway to office holding. If your ultimate aim is to be officials . . . why should you come to this university? Go elsewhere!

"The second is in regard to our morality: At the present time, social customs and traditions are daily disorganized and demoralization prevails! Society of Peking is worse than any where else in China. The nature of social customs in a country, wholesome or otherwise, is the thermometer of a nation. If the social customs and moral laws continue to be undermined, what of our future? We must have strong, intelligent scholars to change our bad customs and our unwholesome morality. You, as students of a university, are in a position to take this responsibility. . . . If

we don't reconstruct our moral life, are interested only in learning, while we passively allow common social customs to overwhelm and to drown us, how can we win the respect of others or hope to inspire others?

"The third concerns the friendship between teachers and students. While in Europe, I frequently saw shops where the buyers and sellers even in an economic relationship were very friendly toward each other. If in Europe such a slight relation is a friendly one, what may we not expect from the intellectual relationship between teachers and students?" [1]

Almost the first step in the President's program of reform was the organizing of "The society for the Promotion of Virtue." Members could not become members of Parliament, hold governmental offices, gamble, have concubines nor consort with prostitutes. One thousand students joined.

Among the innovations during Dr. Tsai's first year of service were research societies in methods of learning, in drawing, and in music, night schools for school-workers, student-banks, the introduction of the study of French, English, German, Russian and Esperanto; the study of mod-

[1] *Life and Work of Tsai Yuan-pei*, Vol. II, *Ibid.*, pp. 292-96.

ern Chinese literature, and the modern literature of the world. The collection of materials for a national biological society and preparation for a Chinese branch in one of the great museums of Paris were begun.

On the faculty were returned students from the greatest universities of the world. In 1921 nine professors were returned students from France, six from America, five from Germany, five from England, three from Japan, and five were native scholars! Never before in the history of China had there been such cordial relations between professors and students. Impressions of different countries, experiences while there, plans for China,—these were the subjects of discussions among groups of world-students. It was no wonder that practically all revolutionary movements in China had their origins in this university.[2]

There was enthusiasm for world learning and for a new culture within the university walls, and chaos and confusion of Peking society in the surrounding city, a contrast which heightened the sense of solidarity prevailing in the university.

[2] The increase of the number of students of the university: 1912, 818; 1913, 781; 1914, 942; 1915, 1,333; 1916, 1,503; 1917, 1,695; 1918, 2,001; 1919, 2,228; 1920, 2,565; 1921, 2,252.

While the university was being re-made, the World War was going on. Western civilization, it seemed, was toppling. Peking students questioned its whole basis. Then the World War ended. All China celebrated the victory of its allies. The demonstration against war by Peking students was another phase of the youth movement.[3]

In December, 1918, the Renaissance Society was organized. Through *The Renaissance,* the second magazine of the youth movement, the students of the university attempted to give an active portrayal of the new student life, and answer one question above all others,—By what method may we introduce China into the trend of the "thought-tide" of the world? The first number appeared January, 1919. A true picture of China's situation read:

"Our society is very strange. Western people used to say that China has 'mass' but no 'society' and that the Chinese 'society' is more than 2,000 years old, it is a type of society which does not meet modern needs. Facing the matter honestly, this is not untrue. Consider our bad and inferior customs which were as dead rules for dead things,

[3] November 30, 1918.

cruel and contrary to human nature! There was no path left for human expression. We human beings were like dogs and sheep, not conscious whether they are living or dead. . . .

"Real learning gives one individuality and independence. The Renaissance and Reformation in the Western World show how scholars there declared their independence against tradition.

"Through this magazine we desire to coöperate with students of all middle schools throughout the whole country to fight for spiritual emancipation. Our hope is that all students in the country will interest themselves in modern scientific thought; that they will give up our subjective and fixed mind in order to be objective and critical; that they will consider themselves men of the future society rather than the men of the present society; that they will have personality enough to conquer our society rather than to be conquered by it. The spirit of our publication is the spirit of criticism."[4]

Typical of all the articles, are the following, selected from the first numbers: Giving-up Armament or Disarmament; The Relationship Between Philosophy, Science and Religion; Modern Chinese Journalism; The World War and Philosophy, by Tsai Yuan-pei; My Reactions toward the

[4] *The Renaissance,* Vol. I, No. I, January 1, 1919, pp. 1-3, National University of Peking.

Old Family; The Problem of Women's Personality; The Fundamental Problems of Modern Chinese Morality; The Sacredness of Labor; New Theories in Economics; A Method of Attacking Superstitious Thought in China; What is Thinking?; Introduction to the Problem of Marriage; Anti-Sacredism; Modern Christianity; A Discussion of My Attitude Toward Morality; Truth, by F. Haeckel, translated into Chinese.

"Young China Society" with similar hopes and aspirations, assembled for the first time, June 30, 1918.

". . . Our Association dedicates itself to Social Service under the guidance of the Scientific Spirit in order to realize our ideal of creating a young China. Our creed is, 'Fight—Do—Persevere—Live Simply.' We have three divisions for those who are interested in the creative life, the social life, and the scientific life. And we have two principal duties namely, to revolutionize thought-life, and to reconstruct life." [5]

"Although the members are scattered throughout the whole world, they constantly correspond, telling about their own lives, their investigations of the meaning of human life and giving their

[5] *Young China,* The Creation of the Young China, August, 1919, pp. 1-7.

attitudes toward present-day society. Its publication is 'Young China.' "

The literary revolution, which was one of the striking phenomena of the first two years of the Youth Movement, found much support in the National University of Peking, and in such magazines as "New Youth," "Renaissance," and "Young China."

CHAPTER VIII

THE LITERARY RENAISSANCE: THE VERNACULAR PRESS

It was when the leaders of the Youth Movement found themselves thwarted in their attempts to communicate their ideas to the masses of the people, the only recognized means of expression being a language which the common people could not read, that the idea of using the vernacular language as a literary tool began to occupy their minds. When it was finally adopted by the magazines of the Youth Movement, the number of these magazines and their circulation increased with great rapidity, for the members of the Youth Movement themselves needed a language better adapted to the mind of the modern spirit than was classical Chinese.

The dissatisfaction of these young men with the medium they had to use did not flare up, however, until Dr. Su Huh who had a decided literary gift, began to experiment with poetry and prose written in the vernacular language, called

Pei-Hua. Su Huh at first found himself very much alone in his experiments and after returning to China from the United States, he wrote a good many articles through which he tried to find collaborators in the field of vernacular writing. For a long time he met with little response, but when his message did finally reach the Chinese public, the literary revolution burst forth in 1917 into a great blaze of discussion.

In the following quotations, written by Su Huh and one of his students, the aims of the movement as he conceived them are set forth. Su Huh considered the substitution of the vernacular for the written language the very cornerstone of the revolution.[1]

1. A Vernacular Language.

"It is to free ourselves from these shackles (the classical formalism of the old literature) that we now propose the adoption of spoken Chinese as our literary medium. For doubtless one of the most important causes for the deplorable retrogression of Chinese literature has been the anachronous employment of a dead language which is

[1] Karlgren, B., *Sound and Symbol in Chinese,* Oxford University Press, 1923. Hu Suh, "The National Language of China," *American Club of China Lectures,* Shanghai, 1922.

no longer adequate but which was nevertheless supposed to serve for the expression of the ideas and sentiments of the nation. In order to express the greatly enriched content which exists at the present time, it is necessary first to replace the old language, with a vernacular language. The old bottles can no longer hold the new wine." [2]

2. A Democratic Literature.

"Chinese literature as it existed and still exists to-day, is the literature of the minority. It is a literature of and for the intelligentsia. . . . Any country that pretends and intends to be a democracy must provide for its citizens a medium of expression which will be easily comprehended by every one, and if China intends to be a democracy she ought to have a literature that smells less of classicism and which responds more adequately to the needs of everyday life." [3]

3. A Literature with a Revolutionary Content.

"When the first gun for the Literary revolution was fired, a voice cried: 'Destroy the old

[2] Mong, H. C., "The New Literary Movement in China," *The Weekly Review of the Far East,* April, 1922, Shanghai, p. 249.

[3] Suh Hu, "A Literary Revolution in China," *China in 1918,* Peking, 1919, pp. 16-18.

faith so that you may create a new faith; destroy the old mortality so that you may create a new mortality; destroy the old life so that you may create new life!' The very heart of the literary revolution is that it is designed to express the new and changing ideas of our times." [4]

The young Chinese who had revolted and were revolting against Confucianism and other cultural institutions also interested themselves in the development of a vernacular language. The first article by one of the younger men which appeared was written by Hu Suh, who is now known as the father of the literary revolution.[5]

Hu Suh was still a student of Columbia University when he sent home the article on "Suggestions for the Reform of Chinese Literature." Upon his return in 1917 he accepted the professorship of the National University.

Born in Shanghai on December 17, 1891, of an

[4] "Vernacular Literature and the Psychological Revolution," Fu, S. N. *The Renaissance. Ibid.,* Vol. I, No. V, pp. 913-19. The leadership of Hu Suh has been overemphasized by many writers. Paul Hutchinson, for example, in his "China's Real Revolution," says: "If he lives so long as Mr. Ghandi . . . Hu Suh will have affected more lives than any other man in this generation." While he is indeed influential, but it is not he alone who started the whole movement.

[5] "Suggestions for the Reform of Chinese Literature," *New Youth,* Vol. II, No. V, January, 1917.

Anhwei family of scholars, his childhood was largely spent in reading the Chinese literature of his people. Coming to Shanghai at the age of thirteen when the modern educational movement in China had just been started, he, as a matter of course, attended some of the modern schools there. In 1906, a year after the abolition of the old literary examinations, he began writing short stories for a weekly paper in the vernacular language. Meanwhile thousands of Chinese youths had rushed abroad, and Hu Suh following the spirit of the time sailed for America in 1910, a year before the revolution.

He first entered the College of Agriculture at Cornell University, since the demand of the time in China was for things technical. But he soon found that his field was literature and philosophy. He was graduated with honors from Cornell University and later from Columbia.

When the World War broke out Hu Suh, dissatisfied with the militarism of the Western World, translated "The Song of the Conscript," one of the Tu Fu's poems on the horrors of war.[6]

The problem of making the Chinese language

[6] Hu Suh, "The Song of the Conscript," by Tu Fu (712-770), *The Chinese Student Monthly,* Vol. X, June, 1914, pp. 134-140. Tu Fu was a famous Chinese poet.

unstable appealed not only to Hu Suh, but to other Chinese students in America. "The Simplification of the Chinese Language" was the leading topic at the Chinese Student Conference in the summer of 1915. Since then, numerous articles on this topic have appeared in *The Chinese Student Monthly.*[7]

Hu Suh wished to emphasize at the outset the distinction between scientific, or historical research and constructive reforms and discussed the general problem of the scientific study of Chinese philology.

In June, 1916, Hu Suh's article, simple as it is, started the Literary Revolution. *"We must free ourselves from the traditional view,"* challenged Hu Suh, *"that the spoken words and the spoken syntax are* 'vulgar.' As a matter of fact, many of the words and phrases of *our daily use are extremely expressive and therefore beautiful.* The criterion for judging words and expressions should be their vitality and adequacy of expression, not their conformity to orthodox standard. *The spoken language of our people is a living language: it represents the daily needs of the peo-*

[7] Chang, Y. T., "The Chinese Written Language and the Education of the Masses," December, 1915.

ple, is intrinsically beautiful, and possesses every possibility of producing a great and living literature as is shown in our great novels which are written in the vulgate. Space does not permit me to elaborate these rather sweeping statements, and I can only ask the reader to regard them as the utterances of one who a few years ago would challenge his informant for a duel if he had been told that the literary language of China was a dead language." [8]

Later he wrote:

"The first time I used the 'pei-hwa' language (spoken language) was in 1906 [9] when I wrote short stories for a weekly paper in Shanghai [10] and other essays. In the second year (1907), I was sick and had to leave school. While sick I read every day, old poems from those of the Han Dynasty to the Yuan Dynasty. From that time on until I sailed for America (1907-1910), I wrote more than two hundred poems. The period from 1905-6 to 1910 in my life was a period of dissatisfaction with the old literature. In 1910, I came to America. During the first two years in

[8] Hu Suh, "The Problem of the Chinese Language, III. The Teaching of Chinese As It Is," *The Chinese Student Monthly,* Vol. II, June, 1916, pp. 567-572.

[9] Hu Suh, "The Problem of the Chinese Language, Six Years Before the Republic."

[10] He was then sixteen years old.

America I wrote only two or three poems.[11] Since the founding of the Republic of China (1912), Yen and Young (two Chinese students), came to Ithaca and a new companionship was established and my interest in writing poetry revived. One of my poems may indicate the situation:

"In the next year came Yen and Young from
far away.
It was hard to sit still in stormy eves in a hilly
city,
So we drank tea and wrote poems together.
From this time on my poetic interest which was
almost dead was given to a new life."

. . . For five years I stayed in Ithaca. In these years although I did not do much in literature, I read quite a few books concerning western literature which had a great influence in my literary life and which in fact, gave me great strength in writing poetry.[12] In July 8, 1914, I wrote: 'Recently, my poetic writing has become inde-

[11] Because: "When I first came to this country my interest was in agriculture. I thought that literary life was too narrow and could not save our country. I brought to this country over a thousand volumes of Chinese books, but gradually, one by one, I distributed them among my friends. To plant vegetables and trees was my dream. But gradually I began to laugh at my foolishness. There are one hundred and one things to save our country." "Experimental Poems," pp. 20-21.

[12] He became well acquainted with Pope, Browning, Goethe, Wordsworth, etc.

pendent of any school, and I do not form a school myself either. My idea has been not to imitate anybody, and neither my style, my words, nor my sentences conform to orthodox standards." [13]

Hu Suh's experimentalism consequently involved him in many disputes with even his personal friends, and suggested his "Swearing Poem."

[14] "Why is there a doubt about this literary revolution?
Raise the warrior's flag and be a strong youth.
It is important to break the record of the long past,
And to open a new path to the everlasting future;
To get rid of all that is decayed,
And to rejuvenate our life!
To create a new literature for the Republic of China,
To whom can we give this responsibility?
For poetic materials, have we not at our command this modern world!"
—From *Selected Writings,* Vol. I, p. 273.

[13] "Selected Writings," Vol. I, pp. 257-258.

[14] The first part has not been translated, because it does not mean anything when it is translated into English. Hu Suh attacked the old scholars' writings who paid attention to style rather than to the content of life.

He firmly decided not to write any more poems in "wen-li," but in spoken language, although all his intimate friends did not agree with him. Hu Suh met not only opposition, but loneliness in his undertaking, but realizing his position, expressed in a letter to a friend, his awareness that the experiment in writing poetry in spoken language was a new thing in literature, and of his determination to go on in spite of the fact that they must have thought him mad.[15]

In the preface to his *Experimental Poems,* he wrote (October, 1916):

". . . After twenty years as a student,
I discovered two words: 'Shang-Su.'[16]
To write poems and to do things ought to be experimental,
Although we may not succeed, we have the desire.
With these experimental songs I praise my teacher,
May all of you sometime experiment with me."[17]

His first poem in the vernacular entitled "But-

[15] *Experimental Poems,* pp. 1-2.
[16] It may also be translated as "Trial" or "Experiment."
[17] *Experimental Poems,* p. 1.

terfly" in August 23, 1916, is an expression of this loneliness:

> "Two yellow butterflies,
> Flew together toward the sky.
> I do not know why,
> One of them suddenly flew back.
> The other one was left there,
> Lonely and pitiful;
> She had no heart to fly up into the sky,
> For there she would be too lonely."

After intimate contact with Mr. Chen, the new editor of *New Youth* in China, he wrote Mr. Chen in 1916:

"My dear Mr. Chen:

"On February 3rd I sent you a letter enclosing a translation into English by me of Nikolai Dmitrievitch Teleshov's 'The Decisive Struggle.' I hope you have already received it. I haven't read your *New Youth* for some time. Are you still publishing it? I happened to reread the old copy containing your essay on 'The Change in Literature,' to-day, and I want to present my humble suggestions in reaction to it. In your article you said: 'Our method of literary writing is still in the classical period, emphasizing ancient phrases and idealism; from now on, we have to go toward

realism.' It is, indeed, very true. But in the third number of your *New Youth,* there is still a poem written by Mr. . . . who used at least 100 ancient phrases. Is it not contradictory to your previous idea? It seems to me that those people who want to use ancient phrases and the conventional parallel construction of sentences simply show that they are too weak themselves to create anything new and so have to depend upon what has already been created. Our literature is, indeed, decayed, corrupt and bankrupt! The chief reason for this is the over-emphasis of style at the expense of spirit and reality. . . . Our ancients used to say: 'If one's speech has no literary style it will not travel far.' To this I answer: 'If it contains no reality in our speech, what is the use of having a literary style?' In the course of my careful investigations, observations, and thinking during this year, I have come to the conclusion that in order to have a literary revolution we must start with eight rules: 1. Avoid the use of classical phrases. 2. Discard time-worn literary conventions, and classical illusions. 3. Discard the parallel construction of sentences. 4. Do not be afraid of using 'vulgar' words and speech. 5. Continue to use the literary grammar. (The above suggestions are for revolutions in the external form. 6. Do not use sickly and over-emotional expressions when you are not really sick. 7. Do not imitate the ancients. Every sentence

should reflect one's individuality. 8. The presentation must have content.

"These suggestions pertain to a revolution of the spirit. I have just roughly given you my principal ideas. It would be rather difficult for me to put all the rest in a single letter. I will write you again soon. What I have said may be a little too revolutionary, but I can't help saying what I really mean. I hope you, your associates, and others will discuss it. The problem is, indeed, a very difficult one, and there may be some result if we discuss it straightforwardly and sincerely. I have presented these ideas to you because I know that you are well acquainted with modern tendencies in the literature of the world and because you are anxious to revolutionize our literature. . . .

"HU SUH.

"The Tenth Month of the Fifth Year of the Republic of China."

This letter was immediately followed by his article to the *New Youth,* entitled, "Suggestions for the Reform of Chinese Literature" in which he presents the same ideas, with certain slight but significant differences in the form of expression.

"There, indeed, are many now-a-days who discuss the reform of literature. The writer is not

yet well educated; how dare he touch the subject? But during a number of years I have carefully thought over and investigated this matter as a result of various controversies with my friends; and the results, I think, may be of value for further discussion. . . . I am presenting here eight points for those who have paid sufficient attention to this problem to be interested in the result of my investigations. According to my opinion, these suggested changes are most important ways through which we can improve literature. 1. The presentation must have content. 2. We must not imitate the ancients. 3. We must use literary grammar. 4. We must avoid sickly emotionalism. 5. We must discard time-worn literary conventions, classical illusions and construction of sentences. 6. We must not use 'classical phrases.' 7. We must discard the parallel construction of sentences. 8. We must not be afraid of using 'vulgar' words and speech. . . .

"These eight suggestions I repeat, are the results of my investigation and thinking concerning this great problem which has occupied many years. As one who is far from his own country, and who has not been able to discuss this problem with scholars and elders at home, I realize that there may be some mistakes. But since these eight points all touch the fundamental problem of our literature, each one of them suggests the value of further investigation. Thus in spite of my

crude expression I hope this essay will be of some value to all those interested in this problem. For this reason I call my ideas suggestions, meaning that none of these matters are settled and with the hope that my comrades will make suggestions." [18]

This article of Hu Suh's was cleverly written and appealed to the Chinese public. Instead of using the words, "Literary Revolution" as he did in his letter to Chen, he used the words, "Improvement of Literature" or "Literary Reform," so it would not shock the mind of the scholars at home too much. And he presented it "humbly" and "politely" as expressed in his way of writing so the scholars might feel more at home. Moreover, he wrote it in "wen-li" that it might circulate better. It did. A great discussion began. This article was immediately followed by an article, entitled, "A Literary Revolution," by Chen Tu-seu, the editor of the *New Youth,* who was also seeking for a new literature but did not know how to begin except by crying out that Chinese literary writing must change from classicism to realism. It was after this that the revolution began.

[18] *New Youth,* Vol. II, No. V, January, 1917.

CHAPTER IX

THE LITERARY RENAISSANCE: THE LITERARY REVOLUTION

An article written by Chen Tu-seu in 1917 dealing with the yearning for a revolution in literature suddenly met a very wide response from the general public, and from 1917 to 1919 this subject was ardently discussed, not only by the young men, but by older Chinese scholars as well. In fact after 1917, the ideas of the literary revolution, which had been the dreams of a few men, became common property, and a great many conflicting parties arose, some of whom opposed the movement and some of whom had very different ideas as to how it might be realized.

The change from classical writing to a more popular writing in Europe appears as a revolutionary movement. In China it especially deserves the term "revolutionary" because the classical language—the language employed by the Chinese sages—had taken on a very sacred character. Chen Tu-seu's article appearing in January, 1917, attracted much attention. It follows:

How does Europe (strong and glorious) come to be as she is to-day? It is the result of Revolution? Revolution means to discard the old and change it into something new. . . . Thus since the Renaissance in politics, there was the political revolution; in religion, there was the religious revolution; morality, literature, arts and sciences, have all gone through revolutions. . . . Thus the history of European civilization may be called the history of revolutions. . . . All those who are weak and timid in our country are afraid to talk of revolution; thus there have been three revolutions (politically) and our people are still in the dark. . . . Now the revolution against Confucianism has been going on in China; it is the beginning of the ethical and moral revolution. The literary revolution has now also begun, and the champion of the revolutionary army has been my friend, Hu Suh. I am now willing to face the enemies in the whole country and to uphold the flag of the "Literary Revolution Army" as a response to my friend! Upon the flag, I have inscribed three principles of our revolutionary army:

1. We must overthrow the old aristocratic literature and establish a literature of the people;
2. We must overthrow the literature of classicism and establish a literature of realism;
3. We must overthrow the literature which is

secluded from the world and establish a social literature!

. . . Why do I wish to overthrow these three kinds of literature? Because the old aristocratic literature is too dependent upon the examples of others and hence we have lost our own spirit of independence and individuality; the literature of classicism pays attention to externals and has lost its realism; the literature which is excluded from the world does not benefit the masses. . . . They have flesh but no bone, form but no spirit; they are simply ornaments and not of any real use. . . . Are there any who are willing to give up the prestige of being decayed scholars and bookworms, who are willing to open their eyes and be brave enough to declare war against all these "ghosts"? I myself am willing to stand at the front with the largest cannons.[1]

From the time of the publication of this article to the end of the year of 1919, altogether three years, the revolution had gone through a siege of discussions and controversies. At the end of August, 1917, the *New Youth,* then the chief organ of the revolution, stopped publication on account of the political disturbances in China.

[1] Chen Tu-seu, "A Literary Revolution," *New Youth,* Vol. II, No. VI, February, 1917.

From January, 1918, more issues followed; and practically all the articles were published in "pei-hua" and in addition, free-verse vernacular poems were added.

It is interesting to note that all the leading personalities in this revolution were connected with the National University of Peking. Chen Tu-seu was the dean of the University; Hu Suh, a professor of philosophy; Liu, P. N. was connected with the Chinese Department; Chou Tso-jen, a professor of European literature; Li Ta Chao was the University librarian, and Shen Mo Yin and Fu Szu Nien were students.

The following survey of the personalities figuring in the literary revolution shows the transition from attacks on the old language and literature to a greater emphasis on creation, tracing the movement as it gradually entered different fields and occupied itself successively with the problem of language, with poetry, with prose, with Ibsenism, with the question of purity, with the revival of the old ballad literature, and lastly with the theater, short story writing, and folk songs.

Hu Suh, although still in America when the movement started at home, wrote continually. Returning to China, he accepted a professorship

in the National University of Peking, became very active and fought personally in the battlefield. In 1918 he published the following articles:

"My Impressions After Coming Home"; "Vernacular Poetry and Short Stories"; "The Old Crow"; "Free Verse Vernacular Poetry"; "Impressions and Reactions in Peking"; "Research in Ancient Vernacular Literatures"; "A Constructive Literary Revolution"; "Free-Verse Poetry"; "Literature and Theatre Reform," etc.

An article which commanded great attention was called "A Constructive Literary Revolution."

When we started the revolution we had the intention of making destructive attacks on the old literature. Now that we have observed the matter carefully, we have come to the conclusion that we don't need to bother with such attacks. . . . If we have a true literature and a living literature, those false and dead literatures will naturally disappear. Thus I hope that all our literary revolutionists will not pay too much attention to those dead and corrupted literatures, and will have in mind that "their camps will be conquered soon." Now we must turn our whole attention toward the constructive aspects of the movement. Within a few years we must create a body of living liter-

ature for the New China. . . . Since I returned home last year, I have been lecturing in various places, and I have gradually changed my previous eight points which were mostly destructive, into four new headings. They are the following:

1. Write only when you have something to say. . . .
2. Write what you have to say and write it as it is actually said. . . .
3. Write in your own words, not in somebody else's. . . .
4. Write in the language of your time. . . .[2]

This article indicates the changing attitude of the movement. Previously its war cry had been "No dead language can produce a living literature and if China wants a living literature it must be in a living language."

Chen Tu-seu who wrote "A Literary Revolution" in February, 1917, the first article of its kind, fought almost independently in answering questions and settling discussions that came in to him constantly during the first year (1917). The next year he began to write in "pei-hua" in his article on "The True Meaning of Life."

Chien Hsuan-tung, a young disciple of the fa-

[2] "New Youth," April, 1918.

mous scholar Chang Pin Ling, then a professor of philology in the Chinese Department of the National University, was one of the first to join the Revolution. In a letter to Hu Suh he expressed his dissatisfaction with the situation resulting from the lack of harmony of spoken and written language. He considered time spent in studying the written language wasted. Eager for a reform of Chinese literature, he was pleased when steps in this direction were taken by Mr. Chen and Mr. Liu.[3] Many letters of this same expression reached Mr. Chen.

Mr. Chien's thirteen suggestions are:

1. Write in the national language.
2. One should use the commonest and simplest words, say not more than 5,000. . . .
3. If a word has many meanings, the commonest meaning should be retained.
4. One should use a definite and consistent grammar.
5. In letter-writing, the simplest and commonest form of addressing the letter should be adopted and useless and meaningless words should be cut out.
6. No ancient phrases should be employed.

[3] Chang Pin Lin invented the phonetics and was criticized. See the beginning of the chapter.

7. In elementary school books, popular books, newspapers and in magazines, phonetic sounds should appear next to the written word.
8. Punctuation signs should be used in all writings.
9. Simple styles in printing and writing should prevail.
10. Arabic numbers should be employed.
11. The calendar most commonly used in the world would be the best one to employ.
12. In writing and printing it would be best to proceed from the left to the right, instead of from the left down.
13. In printing the most convenient terms and style should be used.

. . . Since the Monarchial Movement of Yuan, I have been greatly excited, and I learned a great lesson. I know that in doing anything one must go forward all the time. For example, I am now thirty-one years old and next year I will be thirty-two and never thirty years old again. . . . The old must go and we must be men of our time! . . . Ah! We are still in a very critical situation, we can but devote ourselves sincerely to promoting the literary and moral revolution. . . !

CHIEN HSUAN-TUNG[4]

[4] *Ibid.*

From the very beginning he insisted that Chen use "pei-hua" in all his writings, even going so far as to say that "Chinese should lead the world by using Esperanto in order that there might be a real international language some day."

Liu, P. N., a young poet, has written more in the vernacular and in free verse than any one excepting Hu Suh. Among his most important articles are the following:

"My Views Concerning Literary Reform."
"The Soul of the Violin," by Margaret M. Merill and "Song of the Shirt," by Thomas Hood, translations.
"The Spiritual Revolution of Poetry and Short Story Writing."

In his article entitled "My Views Concerning Literary Reform" he expressed views very similar to those of Chen, Hu, and Chien.

Chou Tso-jen, a professor of European literature, is a famous translator of modern Russian, Polish, Greek, Japanese and English authors. His brother is a writer of short stories. Chou Tso-jen has his own convictions as to those things for which China should strive, as expressed in his article "Human Literature."

All we have been trying to do in our seeking for a new literature may be summarized in one sentence—"We are seeking for a *human* literature, and all that we are opposed to is literature in which this quality is not strongly evident." It is not necessary to make a difference between literature that is old and new. These are relative terms. The development of European civilization has a continual realization of human life as it is displayed, for example in the Renaissance and the French Revolution. Our conception of literature does not emphasize either the spirit or the body; they are two aspects of the same thing. . . . We emphasize individuality and the individual as the unit of life, . . . but we have a love for humanity as a whole. . . . To have a human literature we must also have a human morality. . . . For example, equality of men and women, freedom of love in marriage, etc.

Fu Szu Nien, was a student in the National University when he contributed in 1918:

The Literary Revolution: An Interpretation.
Preliminary Suggestions for a Unification of the Written and Spoken Language.
The Fundamental Mistakes of Chinese Learning and Thinking.
Different Views of Theatre Reform.

He believed that a unification of the written and spoken language would be better than the giving up of the old literary language entirely.[5]

Lo S. Lung, a classmate of Mr. Fu, published an article, "Young Students," which appeared in *New Youth,* January, 1918, along with Mr. Fu's "Literary Revolution." "The New Chinese Students of the Twentieth Century" deserves comment. He believes that the majority of the youth in China are students, and it is they who will be able to discard the old and create the new. "I am a youth, I am also a student, and to be both is to have a spirit which, like the sun of spring, touches everything with fresh life," he asserted.[6]

Those two students and a number of others in the National University of Peking were responsible for the publication of "The Renaissance" and the founding of the Renaissance Society in January, 1919.[7]

As more persons became interested in the literary movement and as it took more and more varied expressions, there was no longer any agreement as to what policy should be pursued in finding a useful medium of expression through which

[5] He continued to give methods of this unification.
[6] Published in a Chinese magazine.
[7] See Chapter VII.

the writer and thinker would be able to explain himself to the average reader. Different factions had different programs and controversy became organized.

1. Of all these groups the extremely radical represents the first revolutionists, like Chen Tu-seu and others who demanded that the spoken language should be the medium used and that the old literature be thrown overboard.

2. The other extreme is represented by the extreme conservatives. Lin Shu, a famous old scholar, for example, attacked the revolutionists severely and defended the old written language and literature.

3. Another group, made up for the most part of the youngest of the revolutionists, maintains that "the spoken language should be the central language for the creation of a new literature, and yet the valuable parts of the old written literature should be selected to enrich the spoken language which needs refining."

4. A fourth group, attacking all the other groups, maintains that "the old written language should be the central language for the creation of a new literature but it must be critically re-examined and scientifically simplified." They

hold it "fallacy to accept everything western as desirable at the expense of our own culture which is in some respects much superior to that of western civilization." This group has its center at the National Southeastern University of Nanking, in contrast to the National University of Peking.

Then there are other groups, none of which are as strong or as significant as those already mentioned. One group, with many adherents, demands that China should have a phonetic system at once and should use the 39 symbols fixed upon at the "Conference for the Standardization of Pronunciation" in 1912. This movement is still in process, but since the process is a slow one, it invites little controversy.

Another smaller group, composed mostly of students and others who had more intimate contact with missionaries in China and who had been using this method of writing, suggests that the old written language be given up and that Chinese pronunciation be romanized. This suggestion was at once opposed by all the other groups.

Still another group holds that "Chinese people

should lead the world by using Esperanto, and give up their own language in order that they may popularize this one." Impractical however, it has nevertheless resulted in the establishing of a College of Esperanto in Peking, the first of its kind in the Orient. The leader of this movement is Chien Hsuan Tung, an early literary revolutionist.[8]

Arising to defend their national heritage against the attacks of the rebels, old Chinese scholars waged hot battle.

The "Chinese Literary Writing Should Not Be Abolished," was a protest by Lin Shu, a famous old Chinese scholar, followed by a storm of ridicule from the revolutionists.

C. H. Wang, supporting Lin Shu, protested, airing his views to the editors of the *New Youth.* That Chinese youth are being demoralized, that they are being taught to attack Confucius, the Chinese morality and the old language was his lament. In short, their worship of the western civilization is at the expense of the best elements in Chinese civilization.

[8] In April, 1918, for example, they published a special number on Esperanto.

Older scholars in the National University of Peking supported Lin Shu. Under the leadership of Mr. Liu Kuang Han they published a short-lived opposition magazine called the "National Heritage." [9]

In the spring of 1919 the controversies in regard to the literary movement were carried on not only in the organs of the youth movement, but even in the leading newspapers of China. Using the classical language, Lin Shu wrote a series of short stories appearing in the Hein Shen Pao, one of the principal newspapers in Shanghai, in which he ridiculed the leaders of the literary revolution. Chancellor Tsai Yuan-pei, Messrs. Suh Hu, Chien Hsuan Tung, and Chen Tu-seu figured in these stories under very transparent pseudonyms, and were referred to in abusive terms. Amusing indeed is one story of a giant punishing heretics, a clear appeal of Lin Shu to General Hsu Shu Chaeng, whose teacher he had been. On March 18, 1919, there appeared in one of the daily newspapers the following letter of Mr. Lin Shu addressed to Mr. Tsai Yuan-pei, the Chancellor of the National University of Peking, on which the newspaper saw fit to make editorial comments.

[9] Published only four issues.

My dear Mr. Tsai:

China is now in a very critical situation. . . . People are seeking to get rid of the teachings of Confucius and Mencius and the old morality. Because you who are children of Confucius and Mencius are now in distress you do not look for a good doctor to cure you—instead you even try to ignore your parents. You may be satisfied with what you are doing, but is it right? The western people do not understand the teaching of Confucius and Mencius, but I have not been able to discover that the moral teachings of the West are contradictory to ours. I am now seventy years old. . . . What we need in the world is true learning and true morality that we may set examples for others. If you abolish the old books and use the spoken language as the literary writing then the language of the carriers and the people of the street will destroy all feeling for grammatical construction. It is not so easy to write classical and even spoken literature; one has to know and read at least 10,000 volumes of books. . . . It is necessary to protect our national heritage and teach it through literature. But it is not right to use the spoken language as the primary language and the literary language as a secondary language. The fathers and elders have placed their sons and brothers under your care, and I hope that you will take care of them

carefully and bring them up in the traditional ways. . . .

LIN SU.[10]

To this Mr. Tsai replied:

MY DEAR MR. LIN:

On the 18th of this month I read your letter addressed to me which appeared in the News. . . . I am very pleased to know of your interest in our University. . . . There are two main points that you feel concern about. You say that: 1. We are trying to destroy the teachings of Confucius and Mencius and the old morality. 2. That we are trying to abolish the old books and to use the spoken language as the written language. Let me comment on these two points. Do the professors of our University teach their students to despise the teachings of Confucius and Mencius and the old morality? Hu Suh's "Outlines of Chinese Philosophy" does not show any indication at all of a desire to destroy the teachings of Confucius or Mencius. He simply studied them and explained them. . . . How can it be called destruction or contempt? Any statements that the professors may make outside of the University and outside of their classrooms, are not the concern of the University; the professors have in that respect entire freedom of speech. . . . Has the

[10] He translated many foreign novels through a translator.

National University abolished the old literature and does it use the vernacular literature exclusively? Although the forms of the spoken and the written language are different, their contents are the same. Darwin's "Theory of Evolution" is written in the vernacular language for the most part and it was translated into the Chinese classical language by Yen Fu. . . . Now do you think the translated "Theory of Evolution" is better than the original one because it has been couched in the classical language? It may be that one has to read through 10,000 volumes of books before he can write good literature, classical or spoken. But how do you know that the writers like Hu Suh, Chien, Chu, are not widely read? . . . I have two fundamental ideas concerning the life of the University: 1. In learning we follow the formula of the world's great universities, i.e., freedom of thought. Although the professors have different points of view which may be contradictory to each other, we allow them to have free development and free expression. . . . 2. If professors do not trespass on the freedom of thought of others, they will continue to have perfect freedom outside of their school work. . . .

TSAI YUAN-PEI.

March 18, 1919.

This letter was widely quoted in speeches and in newspapers and magazines throughout the

country and the controversy which followed helped to spread and popularize the revolution.

The above cases show the conflict of attitudes between the old scholars and the revolutionists. The following show the conflict of attitudes between the factions that developed later. The later controversies are very different from the earlier ones, for those who oppose the use of the spoken language as the only living medium of expression for China were most of them trained in western countries. Among them, Dr. S. S. Hu is one of the earliest and ablest.[11] In his "Chinese Literary Reform" he wrote in 1919:

When the literary revolution was started by Chen Tu-seu and Hu Suh, people followed them overwhelmingly for a time. Some of those who followed them did so blindly because they were foreign graduates and Ph.D.'s. Although I have no particular ability, I also have studied in foreign countries and am quite well acquainted with English literature and with the literature of the world. . . . I want to discuss straightforwardly the problem of literary reform. . . . Literature is literature, and language is language. Language is a means of communicating ideas, and literature, besides communicating ideas, has structure. Its

[11] Mr. Hu is a scientist himself, specializing in Botany.

words and sentences display craftsmanship and decorative details. As all those who have studied composition and rhetoric know, not all that we write and that we say can be called literature. Those who are in the literary revolution all demand that the easiest and commonest language be used, forgetting the real meaning of literature. . . . It is not exactly true that in western countries the speaking and writing language is the same. . . . The poetic style has esthetic value. . . . These considerations and others prove that the spoken language does not suffice for all kinds of literary writing. . . . So I suggest that if we want to create a new literature we must base it upon the old literature, taking the best that it contains and adapting it to the need of the times.

To this article one of the students of the National University of Peking made the following reply:

. . . I have never been in any foreign country, so if my work is not very accurate, I hope Dr. Hu will kindly correct it. . . . The distinction between language and literature is very simple; we have discussed it long ago. According to Dr. Hu's idea, literature should have structure, craftsmanship, training, decoration, etc., but is this all that is necessary? Isn't it true that in addition

it represents the thoughts, feelings and imagination? Literature is the interpretation and criticism of life, the best expression of the best thought, which has a feeling-tone, an imagination and a style that are artistic in their conception, and that are appealing and possessed of human interest. It is clear that spoken language can best express our imagination and feelings. Why? Because it is in daily use and expresses our daily imaginations and feelings. Through the spoken language one maintains his individuality and his freedom. On the whole the life of literature depends upon human life. It exists to serve human life; its function is a human function. So when our life changes our literature must naturally change also.[12]

Mr. Hu, a professor in the Southeastern University of Nanking, also attacked Hu Suh's "experimental poetry" which was written in the vernacular. In 1921, he gathered a group of youths in Nanking, many of whom were returned students, and started a magazine attacking the revolutionists in the National University of Peking. Thus the two greatest universities in China belong to opposite war camps.[13]

[12] This shows the attitude of a Chinese student of native product, one who has never been in a foreign country.
[13] The Critical Review Association.

This magazine, "The Critical Review," which made its appearance in January, 1922, aims:

1. To interpret the spirit and to systematize the materials of Chinese culture.
2. To introduce and assimilate the standard works and best ideas of Western philosophy and literature.
3. To discuss the current problems of Chinese life, thought and education, with a sound, intelligent and critical attitude.
4. To create a modern Chinese prose style, capable of expressing new ideas and sentiments, yet retaining the traditional usages and inherent beauty of the language.

They believe in using the old Chinese literary writing but greatly simplified. They criticize western life as being too materialistic and they attempt to reinterpret especially the Greek and ancient Chinese culture. They also translate poetry and novels from different parts of the world. Their aim, to be sure, is practically the same as that of the party they oppose, that is, both are seeking for a new literature by different methods. Typical of the articles appearing in their review are:

How Shall We Create a New Literature?
A Chinese View of Buddhism and Christianity.

The Old Literature versus the New: Restatement of Our Views.[14]
Poetic Chats.
On the Proper Method of Studying Chinese Literature, Philosophy and Art: A Criticism and a Suggestion.
An Appeal to the Intellectual Class of China to Preserve Our Spiritual Inheritance.
Oriental versus Occidental Civilization.
On the False Distinction Between "Aristocratic" and "Popular" Literature.

Although these two youth groups, The Critical Review Association of Nanking and the Renaissance Society of Peking have substantial differences, in that the Nanking group publish their magazine in a simplified classical language, while the Peking group use the vernacular language, and in that the Nanking group emphasize the reëvaluation of the ancient culture, especially of Chinese and Greek culture, while the Peking group emphasize the modern culture, their intention is practically the same; they both take a critical attitude toward all existing cultures be they ancient or modern, Eastern or Western. Their interest lies in the creation of a new literature and a new culture. The definition of literature given

[14] He emphasizes the spiritual culture of the ancients.

by Lo C. L., a native student of the National University of Peking which has already been quoted,[15] suggests the nature of this attitude. In order to get an adequate definition of literature, he made a study of all the definitions of literature given by Chinese writers, ancient and modern, and then compared them with some fifteen definitions of literature given by fifteen western writers, ranging from Hallam to Huxley. He then criticized them all and from them evolved a synthetic definition.[16]

The outcome of the literary revolution which began with an attack on the old language and which aroused so many controversies during its brief existence is that the despised vernacular written language has become almost the only popular way of writing. If a Chinese student, for example, wrote a letter to his father a few years ago and had in it by mistake, a word which was borrowed from the "pei-hua" language, his father would consider it a shameful and unscholarly thing and would consider it a disgrace to the family. But to-day a boy's father and brothers all feel proud when they write their letters to each

[15] See page 140.
[16] *The Renaissance,* Vol. I, No. IV.

other in "pei-hua." The more "pei-hua" the expression, the better the letter will be.

The popularity of "pei-hua" is perhaps most clearly evidenced by the fact that within the four years following the beginning of the literary revolution in 1917 three hundred student magazines [17] have been published, of which only one or two are not in the vernacular. Opposition against the literary revolution was drowned under the flood tide of vernacular literature. Dozens of magazines have been written in this language among which are:

The Renaissance	The Morning Bell
Young China	The New Light
The Young World	The Freedom of Love
The New World	Science
The New China	The New Education
Reconstruction	The New Student
Emancipation	The Student Review
Freedom	The Youth
The New Life	Philosophia
Truth	Wissen und Wissenschaft
Women	The Struggle

[17] This number is not accurate. Some writer claims it to be more than 400. Because they spread throughout the whole country so suddenly and were so numerous, it has been difficult to enumerate them.

The New Women	The Leader of the Common People
The New Men	The New Learning
The New Individual	Labor and Learning
The New Group	Self-consciousness
The New Society	The New Voice of Society
The New Culture	The New Air
The New Spirit	The Athletic Review
Tne New Voice	The Progress of Youth
The Dawn	The Pacific Ocean
The Morning Star	The Citizen

The literary revolutions gave these magazines a new tool in the shape of the vernacular language, with which they were able to attack all the existing cultural articles and with which they could create a new culture. It is interesting to note that practically all the leading magazines which existed prior to the revolution—and they were very few in number—gave up the classical writing and used the vernacular in its place. These magazines are "The Short Story Monthly," "The Ladies' Journal," and "The Chinese Educational Review," which are now very influential in the Youth Movement.

Of significance too, is the fact that newspapers

followed in the wake of the movement. The first vernacular paper was "The Weekly Review," started by Chen Tu-seu in December, 1918. It was followed by another weekly in Shanghai, edited by Liang Chi-Chao who then preached his Sunday lay sermons to promote the movement. The dailies, such as the Kuo Min Kung Pao of Peking, and the Shih, Shih Hsin Pao of Shanghai, began to write their editorials in the spoken language in 1918. The National Language Daily publish their paper entirely in the spoken language. The most interesting of all is "The Morning News" of Peking, which not only publishes a paper in the spoken language, but which also devotes most of the paper to cultural discussions.

Poetry was also written in the vernacular. This movement, as has already been pointed out, was started by Hu Suh in America in 1916 when he decided not to write any poetry in the classical language, and began to experiment with the vernacular. His *Experimental Poetry* was published in 1922. Students and scholars were attracted by his venture and the writing of vernacular poetry became somewhat of a fad. Kung P. C., a student of the National University published a volume of vernacular poetry called *Chil-*

dren of the Grass.[18] *Kleeblatt* was written by three students of the National University of Peking and was published in 1920; *Wintry Night* was published by Yui P. P., another student of the University in 1922. *Goddess* and *Starry Sky* were published by Mo-Jo Ko, a Chinese student in Japan in 1921 and 1924 respectively.

The vernacular language movement made another great step in advance when, in October, 1919, the National Educational Association recommended that the spoken language be taught in the primary schools. As a result of this recommendation, the Minister of Education decreed in January, 1920, that, beginning in the autumn of that year, the Chinese which was taught in the first two years of primary schools should be spoken Chinese.[19] Many Middle and Normal Schools have voluntarily adopted textbooks in kuo yu—the national spoken language—in order to turn out teachers who can better teach spoken Chinese.

At the same time, scientific books, both in translation and in the original are being printed in spoken Chinese. Liang Chi-Chao, the noted Chi-

[18] The Oriental Publishing Company, 1922.

[19] This means the formal recognition of the spoken language by the Government.

nese scholar, published all his lectures in the spoken language in 1922. Hu Suh edited four of the greatest Chinese classical novels in the popular language. They are: the "Shui Hu Chuan" and the "Hsi Yu Chi" translated by Dr. Timothy Richard under the titles of "A Mission to Heaven," "The Literati," and "The Dream of the Red Chamber."

Mandarin or kuo yu, as the national language is called, because it has been the official spoken language for centuries, occupies more territory than any other dialect. The kuo yu movement is an attempt to get the people of the whole country to speak kuo yu in order that the spoken language may be unified. Students in places such as Soochow, Foochow, Canton, and other southern cities, who before would not have listened to a speaker in the Northern dialect, now form eager audiences when there are lecturers from the North. Students in Shanghai at one time wore badges with the inscription "Unify the National Language," as a sign that they were studying Mandarin. Practically all those magazines published by the students in South China have been in the vernacular language.

The first aim of the literary revolution, which

was to secure the use of the vernacular as a medium of expression for modern thought, has in the last eight years come to a remarkable fruition; for, as it has worked out, the mere existence of a language which was easy to handle has produced a copious literature. Through the use of the vernacular in schools, in newspapers, and in magazines, the ideas of the leaders of the Youth Movement really came into circulation, and when the student revolt broke out in the year 1919 the vernacular magazines supplied the tinder.

CHAPTER X

THE STUDENTS ASSERT THEMSELVES: THE DEMONSTRATION AGAINST MILITARISM

As is well known, most of the great powers have some stake in China. The concessions and holdings of Great Britain, alone, are estimated as covering no less than 27 per cent. of the territory of the whole country. Japan, a highly westernized nation, also eager to get her share of concessions was afforded opportunity by the World War. As President Yuan Shi-kai put it, before Japan had made any overt move, "Japan is going to take advantage of this war to get control of China."

Japan took possession of Kiaochow and Tsingtao in Shantung Province in 1914, and in 1915 she sent the so-called Twenty-one Demands to China which China was forced to accept. The intellectuals with high hope believed that the principles of Woodrow Wilson would prevail at the Peace Conference, and that Japan would be forced

to withdraw. When on April 30, 1919, the Peace Conference decided the Shantung issue in favor of Japan, the alert in China were deeply stirred.

Two organizations were immediately formed among the intelligentsia and the business men. The first, The People's Foreign Diplomatic Union, tried to make it clear that the people of China refused to recognize the treaties drawn up and the decisions arrived at by their representatives and by the European powers, while the second, The People's Self-determination Society, telegraphed the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and ordered a boycott against Japanese goods. It was against this critical situation that the students revolted.

"I was a student of the National University at this time. I could feel the great unrest among our students. We were greatly discouraged. During the Armistice of 1918 we had been quite hopeful. We thought that now all of the nations had learned a lesson. Accordingly, on November 30, 1918, the students of our university held a great mass meeting at the National Central Park in Peking. The main subject was 'Anti-Militarism.' And in January, 1919, the students of the University who were publishing 'The Renaissance,' also emphasized this point. 'If the

world does not want to give up militarism,' they said, 'China should lead the world, doing so first.' But when the news of the Paris Peace Conference finally reached us we were greatly shocked. We at once awoke to the fact that foreign nations were still selfish and militaristic and that they were all great liars. I remember that in the evening of May 2nd very few of us slept. I and a group of my friends talked almost the whole night. We came to the conclusion that a greater world war would be coming sooner or later, and that this great war would be fought in the East. We had nothing to do with our Government, that we knew very well, and at the same time we could no longer depend upon the principle of any so-called great leader like Woodrow Wilson, for example. Looking at our people and at the pitiful ignorant masses, we couldn't help but feel that we must struggle! . . ."[1]

Dr. Molin Chang, Dean of the National University of Peking wrote concerning the student unrest: "Even before the demonstration of May 4, some of the leaders in the new educational movement who had been observing the spirit of unrest among the students, predicted that something was going to happen. The international policies in Paris supplied fuel to the already burn-

[1] An interview with a student of the National University.

ing desire of the students to strike." The famous parade of the Peking students on May 4th, was the outcome of this unrest. The following description is written by one of the students who took part in the strike:[2]

"At 1 P.M., May 3rd, 1919, a notice was posted calling for a mass meeting. More than 1,000 students were present at the meeting.[3] Mr. Lo, one of the student-leaders in the Literary Revolution Movement was among those in charge of the meeting.

"We first discussed the problem of our national crisis and we all agreed that the Shantung Problem was caused by corruption and injustice, and that we as students must fight to show the world that 'Might should never be right!' Four methods of procedure were then discussed. They were as follows: 1. To get the people of the country to fight together; 2. To send telegrams to the Chinese delegates in Paris and ask them not to sign the treaty; 3. To send telegrams to all prov-

[2] "Since May 1st we had been thinking and moving around to seek some way to express our discontent at the corruption of our Government and militarism, both Chinese and Foreign. . . . Finally, we came to the conclusion that the only immediate thing we could do was to call a great mass parade of the students in Peking."—Su C. C.

[3] It was held in the Assembly Hall of the Law School, National University of Peking.

inces in the country asking them to parade on May 7th, the National Humiliation Day; 4. To decide on the coming Sunday (May 4th) to meet the students of all of the schools in Peking at 'Tieng-Ang Mien' and to show our discontent by a great mass parade.

"During the meeting, a student of the Law School, Mr. Tshia, deliberately broke his finger and wrote on the wall in blood 'Return Our Tsing-tao.' The students were all quiet.

"Next morning at 10 o'clock, a meeting of the school representatives of about eighteen leading schools in Peking was held at the Peking Law College to plan the procedure of the afternoon mass parade. After dinner all of us marched out toward Tieng-Ang Mien. A representative of the Board of Education came to our school and advised us not to go, but we refused to listen. When we arrived at Tieng-Ang Mien, a few thousand students of other schools had already gathered there. All of them met in the big yard in front of the gate. They stood in order, group after group, according to their schools. All of them had in their hands white flags made of paper or cloth, bearing the inscriptions, 'Self-determination'; 'International Justice'; 'Abolish the Twen-

ty-one Demands'; 'Return Our Tsing-tao'; 'Down with the Traitors'; and the like. About thirty schools were present with more than 10,000 students!

"Little papers describing the purpose of our meeting and the nature of the national crisis were distributed. In those papers we demanded that right, reason, and justice should prevail and we declared war against the corruption of the officials!

"Before parading a temporary meeting was called to order. Not a single sound was heard among the 10,000 students! The representative of our National University explained that the students of our school had arrived late because they had had a long conversation with the representative of the Board of Education as to when they were to start out from the school. . . . He then introduced the representative from the Board of Education to the audience, who advised the students to go back to their respective schools and to send their representatives to call upon the Government or the Allied Ministers to talk over the matter, instead of parading in such numbers. Of course, our real purpose was not going to be satisfied

either by visits or mass parades. So we refused. We then marched out!

"It was about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, more than 10,000 strong, we paraded the streets, and the people in Peking were greatly aroused. Three thousand of us paraded to the Legation Quarter to ask the Allied Ministers to aid us in securing justice, but the police of the special extraterritorial district refused to let us enter. Four representatives, including Mr. Lo, were then appointed to see the American Minister. The Minister was absent;[4] it was Sunday.

"After waiting in vain for a time, we marched on through Chang-Ang Street, and passed by the residence of one of the so-called 'traitors,' Tsao Ju-lin, then Minister of Communication. The students tried to see him, but his home was guarded by soldiers and policemen. All of us called loudly, 'The Traitor! The Traitor!' We threw all our small white flags through the windows, and there were so many that we could see the array of white colored flags from a long distance. Finally a conflict took place, for suddenly the door of the building was opened and the students marched in. They saw one of the 'traitors'

[4] May 4th, 1919.

conversing with a group of Japanese. . . . They went forward to question him, but they were stopped by the Japanese. . . . The students dispersed because a fire suddenly broke out from the building and the soldiers fired at them. Thirty-two were arrested." [5]

"The students (only ten at first) were taken to the police station in pairs. The soldiers pushed them with the ends of the guns or slapped them if they protested. They were at once put into prison; five being paired off with a group of robbers and thieves. They were not allowed to speak. Three hours later more students arrived at the prison. . . . At 7 P.M. the students were carried to the Central Police Station. On the road these student-prisoners met a few western foreigners passing them in an automobile. They greeted the student-prisoners by clapping, and the students returned the salutation. After they reached the station they were put together in a room and not allowed to talk." [6]

The Chinese Government considered this dem-

[5] Translated from a Chinese document written by a student of the National University of Peking.

[6] Translated from a Chinese document. Those "traitors," so-called, were the three ministers who represented the Chinese Government to sign secret treaties with Japan and secure loans from the same. They were widely known as

onstration as reason for declaring war against the National University of Peking with which it had long been dissatisfied. Just a few months before this mass parade of students (May 4, 1919) they had been shocked by the critical attitudes toward the ancient and sacred institutions of Confucianism, the classical language, and social customs. The Chinese Government condemning the Minister of Education for his sympathy with the University forced him to resign. The Chinese Government hoped to disorganize the University and incidentally to assassinate Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei, the Chancellor.

War between the Chinese Government and the students followed; the students employing the method of non-resistance, perseverance, and peaceful strikes, while the Chinese Government used the method of suppression by force, arrests, whippings, and other militaristic measures. Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei later characterized this movement as "the war between the deluge and the wild beast." [7] The critical attitude and powerful force

"grafters," because it was complained that they were not honest. This attack against those "traitors" meant an "ultimatum" to the Chinese Government as a whole.

[7] *The Deluge and the Wild Beast,* China in 1919, Peking.

of the students throughout the whole country suggested "deluge," while the cruelty of the Chinese Government was typical of a "wild beast."

"When we returned to school on the evening of May 4, we had a roll call and found some of our schoolmates missing. Immediately we called a meeting and our president, Tsai Yuan-pei, was there too. We told him the whole story,—that the policemen were rough and that those traitors might use military force to kill our schoolmates. We wanted to go in a body to the police station, but we were stopped by Dr. Tsai. He asked our representatives and a professor to have a consultation with him about the matter. He then went to the police station alone.

"Next day a great students' mass meeting was held in the Law School Assembly Hall of the University of Peking at which more than three thousand students were present. At the meeting the chairman reported the result of the meeting of school-representatives. At this meeting it was decided to ask the President of the Republic to free the students on the one hand, and on the other to demand that 'the traitors' should be punished by the Government. They also decided that all

of the students in the city should stop their studies until their schoolmates were freed." [8]

"The news of what had happened in Peking spread rapidly. . . . Early the next morning, leaders of various organizations in the college Tsing-Hwa went to Peking to investigate the matter. Late in the evening, the delegates returned and the whole student-body, some 600 students had already assembled in front of the Gymnasium and were waiting for them in great excitement. In the course of that mass meeting, it was decided that Tsing-Hwa should take a very active part in the movement. The students were to act concertedly with their fellow-students in the city and to send delegates to attend their meetings every day." [9]

Not only were students of other schools sympathetic with the movement, but merchants, newspaper organizations, scholars, and others sent telegrams to Peking, directed both to the Government and to the students in Peking. The following telegram was sent by the Shanghai Daily News Union:

[8] Translated from a Chinese document contributed by a Chinese student.

[9] Contributed by a student of that college.

"The Hon. President and Premier.

"Dear Sirs: Although the behavior of the Peking students was revolutionary, it was a manifestation of their sincere patriotism. Recently we were told that the University may be disorganized and the students put to death. Since this news has spread, the people are very angry. Remember this: the greater your suppression, the greater will be the reaction! We are all in a critical situation in this country, and we depend upon the opinion of the people back of us. Be sure not to disregard our opinion! . . . We hope that you will free the students at once to relieve the popular tension."

The following one was sent by the "Technical Research Society":

"To the Universities and other schools in Peking,
c/o The Peking Universal News.

"Dear Friends: We are all pleased because of your brave attack against our national traitors. Your sincere patriotism has made us reverence and respect you. We stand behind you."

The Chinese Government finally awoke to the fact that something serious might happen for this seemed the first time in the history of China that people from all over the country expressed their

discontent with the government. Moreover, May 7th, the National Humiliation Day, on which Japan had sent her ultimatum in 1915, was at hand and the detention of students on May 7th might intensify the general feeling. The situation was made more critical because teachers in Peking and other leaders had offered their guarantee for the students. The Government, therefore, was forced to release them.

On May 7th, Superintendent Ngu, head of the Police Department, released the thirty-two student-prisoners, advising them not to be influenced by other people. With one voice the students replied: "We students have our own conscience, how can we be influenced by others?" The students all shouted: "Long live the students!" When they returned to their respective schools, they held mass meetings and sang songs.

Following the release of the students (which was very much against the will of the Government), various new situations arose, the first one concerning the Chinese students in Japan. A Chinese student in Japan wrote:

"Spurred on by the militaristic policies of Western countries and of Japan, our Chinese students in Japan decided to hold a great mass meet-

ing on May 7th, our National Humiliation Day, to express our discontent. . . . We searched around for a suitable place for meeting, but we could not find one owing to the opposition of the Japanese police. . . . We finally decided to hold it in the Chinese legation. . . . On the evening of May 6th, the Chinese legation was already surrounded by Japanese soldiers, as if they were about to face a great body of enemies.

"On the morning of May 7th, the policemen became more and more active, and we could not hold our meeting there either. . . . Then we planned privately to break up our students into separate groups and to meet in front of the German legation ground from where we could start our parade to appeal to the different foreign delegations in Japan. . . . 'Destroy Militarism!' 'For the Preservation of Peace!' 'Return our Tsing-tao!' 'In Memory of Our National Humiliation Day!' came to be our slogans. The Japanese police hated this. . . . A few hundred cavalrymen encircled the parade from the front and from the rear. More than one hundred students were wounded." [10]

[10] Translated from a document. Seven students were put into prison.

In the meantime, Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei had resigned his position as the Chancellor of the National University of Peking through fear of being assassinated. He left a note: "I am exhausted. . . . I beg a little rest. I have resigned my presidency. . . . I hope those who understand me will forgive me. . . ."

The resignations of Mr. Fu, Minister of Education, and Dr. Tsai, Chancellor of the University, followed by the resignations of professors of different technical schools in Peking shocked all China. Telegram after telegram poured into the Government from different organizations and individuals, and the Government was forced to recall some of these men.

The situation was intensified by the death of two students, one of whom drowned himself. The following message was found on his clothing:

"With such severe internal and external troubles, China may soon be a dead nation. No one can tell how the Shantung question will end or when there will be peace between the North and the South. What a pitiful sight to see the students rise up empty-handed, risking their lives for the national salvation without the least selfish-

ness or conceit and free from any ulterior motives! With the realization that I am witnessing the passing of a nation and the enslavement of her people, I have decided that I would rather be a free ghost than a living slave. My fellow citizens, be brave and struggle for your country! I have finished my life." [11]

Although the thirty-two students were released, the Government continued to make many arrests. On May 11, 1919, two Tsing-hwa student-lecturers were arrested.[12] At the same time the Government used mandates to suppress the activities of students in different places.[13]

Peking students expressed discouragement, "first because the Government paid no attention to the people's demand that the Chinese delegates should not sign the treaty and still considered students as enemies; second, because the Government still esteemed the 'traitors' in high favor and maintained a very unfavorable attitude toward Dr. Tsai and Minister Fu; third, because the Government

[11] Tyau, M. T. Z., *China Awakened, Ibid.*, p. 126.

[12] From a student's diary.

[13] On May 14, two special mandates were issued by the Government: (1) To suppress the activities of students by military forces; (2) to threaten that the students had no right to do anything in regard to the Government.

paid no attention to the Chinese students arrested in Japan." [14]

The indifference of the Government led to a general strike of all Peking students. Propaganda spread. Student unions organized throughout the whole country. Strikes in other cities occurred as follows: Peking, May 19th; Tientsin, May 23rd; Tsinan, May 24th; Shanghai, May 26th; Nanking, May 27th; Paotingfu, May 28th; Anking, May 30th; Hankow, Wushang, and Kaifeng, May 31st. In Foochow, Canton, Amoy, Hangchow, and practically all over the country there were also student strikes.

It is interesting to note that the spread of the movement almost followed the geographical line, from the cities nearest Peking to other cities farther away from the capital city.

The nature of the activities of students was practically the same in all cities. The undermining of the school routine during these strikes is described in the following excerpt:

"When the student movement broke out I was a senior of the Fukien University, Foochow. At the end of May, 1919, the students of the whole city struck. Besides sending out student-lecturers

[14] Translated from a document.

every six hours, all of the students were occupied. Many were employed in making white flags and in printing notices and other literature for the people. The school was almost changed to a summer camp. Boy scouts became student-policemen whose duty it was to guard the school. Student athletes became hard laborers. While we were working in buildings we sang songs to please ourselves."

The unabated activity of the students causing the Government some alarm led to promises of concessions, but when a daily entitled, "May 7th," was published, so fascinating that even car-carriers found it a necessity to read it, the Government ordered the police to suppress it, and the student-editor was arrested. Professor John Dewey, then in Peking, wrote:

"Peking, June 1.

"We have just seen a few hundred girls march away from the American Board Mission School to go to see the President and to ask him to release the boy students who are in prison for making speeches in the street. To say that life in China is exciting is to put it fairly. We are witnessing the birth of a nation, and birth always comes hard. I may as well begin at the beginning and tell you what has happened while things have

been moving so fast I could not get time to write. Yesterday we went to see the temples of the Western Hills, conducted by one of the members of the Ministry of Education. As we were returning along the big street that passes the city wall we saw students speaking to groups of people. This was the first time the students had appeared for several days. . . . This morning when we got the paper it was full of nothing else. The worst thing is that the University has been turned into a prison with military tents all around it and a notice on the outside that this is a prison for students who disturb the peace by making speeches. As this is all illegal, it amounts to a military seizure of the University and therefore all the faculty will have to resign. . . . The other thing we heard was that in addition to the two hundred students locked up in the Law Building, two students were taken to the police rooms and flogged on the back. These two students were making speeches and were arrested and taken before the officers of the gendarmes. Instead of shutting up as they were expected to do, the boys asked some questions of these officers that were embarrassing to answer. The officers then had them flogged on the back. . . . We saw students making speeches this morning about eleven, when we started to look for houses, and heard later that they had been arrested and that . . . there are about ten thousand striking in Peking alone.

The marching out of these girls was evidently a shock to their teachers and many mothers were there to see them off. The girls were going to walk to the palace of the President, which is a long distance from the school. If he does not see them, they will remain standing outside all night and they will stay there until he does see them. I fancy people will take them food. We heard that the imprisoned students got bedding at four this morning but no food until after that time. There is water in the building and there is room for them to lie on the floor." [15]

As the great struggle between students and government continued, thousands of street people, sympathetic with the students' cause, stood outside prison walls shouting "Long Live the Republic!" "Long Live the Students!" They all clapped their hands, the prisoners within shouting in reply.

Observation of the Law School prison, made by Dr. Hu Suh, revealed pitiful conditions, sickness, and hunger almost to the point of starvation. He begged the teachers to send them bread.

Meanwhile a manifesto to the whole nation was sent out by Peking students, affirming the

[15] John Dewey and others, *Letters from China and Japan*, Dutton, 1920, pp. 209-212.

cruelty and the insincerity of the government in its dealings with them, accusing a small number of officials and militarists of destroying the spirit of democracy. "Traitors" they called them and declared that for the future welfare of the country as well as for the present sense of righteousness and humaneness, the country must rid itself of them. "If there is truth anywhere, we will follow it to the end of life or in death" was their ultimatum.

Heartened by Peking's example, students in other cities continued the struggle. The arrests of students and the city-wide strikes in all the leading cities were of the same nature.

Places of detention for students were getting full. The fact that Shanghai merchants had struck and Peking merchants had threatened to take similar steps at last brought the government to its senses. On June 6th guards were taken away from the prisons. Doors were thrown open, but the students proposing to be released on their own terms, embarrassed the government by remaining in "jail" all night and the day following, sending four demands to the government. 1. That three officials in the government should be dismissed; 2. That the students should be allowed

freedom of speech; 3. That they should be allowed to parade through the streets of Peking on being released from prison; 4. That the government make them a public apology.

It is significant that the government of its own accord, through fear of its own security and understanding of the grave situation, and out of admiration for the spirit demonstrated, sent an apology to the students by a pacification delegate, a condemnation as it were of its wrong moves. The police apologized and sent automobiles to the prison doors.

The day that the students marched triumphantly from prison was a gala one for Peking. Everywhere bands played, schoolmates applauded. The masses cheered and shouted: "Long live the Republic of China! Long live the Students!" and "Long live the National University of Peking!" Even the janitor of the University congratulated the freed students with a thousand pieces of "red flower."

More than that, the resignations of the three so-called "traitors" were accepted, the cabinet was altered, and the Chinese delegates at the Paris Peace Conference refused to sign the treaty. "You can't imagine what it means here for China

not to have signed," wrote John Dewey. "The entire government has been for it—the President up to ten days before the signing said that it was necessary. It was a victory for public opinion, and all set going by these little schoolboys and girls." [16]

Following the strike, the National Students' Association published a Daily. In its introductory article, it said:

"The freedom of the students has finally been established. This spirit may be roughly grouped under three headings: 1. The spirit of Sacrifice: To sacrifice through war and bloodshed was the nature of the sacrifice of the Nineteenth Century. But our sacrifice is different. We use Right to overcome Might, and Righteousness to subdue Cruelty. 2. The Power of Perseverance: We never turn back, even facing the threats of militarists and soldiers. We are not afraid of death. We keep on. 3. The Active Movement of the People: We students are shouldering the responsibility as their leaders. 'Long Live the Flag of Sacrifice! Long Live the Flag of Perseverance! Long Live the Popular Movement! Long Live the Students!'" [17]

[16] John Dewey and others, *Letters from China and Japan*, Dutton, 1920, p. 226.

[17] Translated from a Chinese document.

On April 14, 1920, the following statement in English was issued to the foreign residents in the port:

". . .Friends of Great Britain, America and France! You have your Magna Charta, your Declaration of Independence, your French Revolution; you who have fought and bled for liberty; you who have just sacrificed your sons in the cause of democracy; can you see our nation destroyed by autocracy, by corruption, by debauchery, and not wish to help us? We ask your sympathy. We ask you not to prejudge us. We are fighting your battle as much as our own, for what you have done on the Atlantic, we must do on the Pacific, although our strength is not a match with the strength that you brought against autocracy and corruption." [18]

It is interesting to note that with the influence of the Student Movement, the common people of China for the first time organized and became conscious of themselves. "In Shanghai the merchants organized themselves by the streets where their business houses are located. Each street formed a union and by uniting together all of the 'street unions,' a central organization was

[18] Tyau, *Ibid.*, p. 151.

formed known as 'The Federation of the Street Unions of Shanghai.' In Tientsin all of the classes of people incorporated themselves into one organization which is called 'The Federation of All Classes.' The membership of the organization consists of the Students' Union, the Labor Union, etc. Other cities like Peking and Shanghai soon followed suit. In Shanghai, a national organization was formed which is called, 'The National Alliance of the Federation of All Classes.' These various organizations are now serving as the controlling force of public opinion in China." [19]

In addition, a union entitled, "The National Organization Union of China" was organized in 1919. Its aims are: To serve the country, To obtain moral sympathy from friendly countries in internal affairs and any kind of help in world affairs, To regulate the steps of the people, To lessen their fiery spirit, and To adopt more moderate measures. The Union comprises the following eight associations bound together for united action:

1. The Students' Union: delegates of all schools;

[19] Molin Chang, *The Student Movement*, 1920.

2. The Woman's Patriotic United Purpose Society;
3. The Christian National Salvation Society;
4. National Merchants' Union;
5. The Press Union;
6. Local Representatives of the Gentry;
7. Local Representatives of the Mohammedans;
8. Local Representatives of the Protestant Churches.

The following are the principal students' organizations which came into being after the Student Movement:

1. The World's Chinese Students' Federation;[20]
2. The Western Students' Union;[21]
3. The Students' Union;
4. The National Students' Union;
5. The National Organization Union of China;
6. The Christian National Salvation Association;
7. The Popular Education Association.[22]

[20] Organized in 1905, but revived in 1919.

[21] Changed from American Returned Students' Union after the Student Movement.

[22] *Year Book of China,* 1920. See "The Chinese National Movement" in *Millard's Review,* June 21, 1919, and two articles by Professor John Dewey in *The New Republic,* August 6, 1919, and February 25, 1920.

This demonstration against militarism had such a successful issue that it gave the students of the country great encouragement in regard to all their other undertakings. Its effect was, therefore, a greater one even than could be gathered from its immediate achievements.

CHAPTER XI

THE STUDENTS ASSERT THEMSELVES: THE DEMONSTRATION AGAINST CHRISTIANITY

In 1922 a manifesto was issued by the so-called "Anti-Christian Student Federation." It follows:

The sins of religion are too numerous to mention. Speaking of its moral side, we find that it teaches men obedience, which is the moral code of slaves. Speaking of its intellectual side, we find that it propagates superstitions which hinder the search for truth. Speaking of its material side, we find that it asks its believers to despise temporal things and to dream of the Kingdom of Heaven and Hell, which would end in the destruction of human life. Its teachings are absolutely valueless, while its evils are incalculable. Yet its influence is growing every day. This is due to the fact that those who are doing evil, have an organization, while we who are opposed to religion, have not.

Of Christianity it asserts:

Of all religions, Christianity, we feel, is the most detestable. One sin of which Christianity

is guilty and which particularly makes our hair rise on end, is its collusion with militarism and capitalism. The influence of Christianity is growing stronger day by day, and when this force becomes more triumphant, the methods of capitalism will be more drastic. Christianity is the public enemy of mankind, just as imperialism and capitalism are, since they have one thing in common, to exploit weak countries. Realizing that China has long been an object of exploitation on the part of capitalistic and imperialistic countries of the world, Christianity is utilizing this opportunity to extend its influence. It is the intelligence officer of the capitalists and the hireling of imperialistic countries. If no effort is made to exterminate this evil, it is impossible to foretell what its dangers will be in the future.[1]

The essence of the anti-religion movement, or at least of its origins, is stated in these two quotations. It is interesting to note, however, that prior to 1922, there was already considerable unrest in China over religion. Confucianism, which was attacked in the first days of the Youth Movement, although not properly a religion at all, responded to the attack by forming a "New Confucian Movement." The revival of Buddhism is

[1] "Mail and Empire," June 14, 1922, *Modern Review*, January, 1923, pp. 135-36.

equally interesting. In April, 1910, just a few months before the Revolution in China, the Chinese National Buddhist Society was organized in Shanghai, formed by the union of all the Buddhist monks. In 1915 a new society entitled Bodhi, or Enlightenment, was organized for the purpose of working out the new ideas and aims of the New Buddhism.[2]

Christianity also proved to be sensitive to the general trend. The Chinese Christians were eager to emancipate themselves from the control of Christian churches by the Western missionaries.

The "China for Christ" Movement, though just getting started, is bound to produce the effect of bringing the churches closer together. The Chinese Church Movement is already appealing to many thinking Chinese. The Yunan Home Missionary has amply proved that the Chinese Christians are capable of carrying on Christian work themselves. . . . Then think of . . . the "all China workers' conference" next spring . . . of which fifty per cent. of the delegates will be Chinese, whereas fourteen years ago there were no Chinese at all! Last but not least is the fact that the "World's Student Christian Federation" is

[2] Tsu, Y. Y., "Present Tendencies in Chinese Buddhism"; "Chinese Today Through Chinese Eyes," London, 1922.

going to hold its convention next spring in China for the first time (1922).[3]

One of the most interesting results of this religious turmoil, however, was the founding of "The Church of the Five Religions" in 1921, in the province of Shantung by Liu Ming-seng, an officer in the Chinese army. Its influence spread rapidly to different parts of China. In July, 1923, it reported seventy-five societies in eleven different provinces, with a membership mounting into tens of thousands. The members are drawn from the official classes, the merchants, and the old literati.

The ultimate purpose of the Tao Yuan is to consolidate the five religions of the world, Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity in an effort to bring unity among the nations of the world, abolish all strife, and usher in an era of good will and mutual helpfulness. "The principles of the Tao Yuan are two. One is to cultivate personal character, and the other, to express character through conduct." [4]

[3] Hsu, P. C., "The Prospects for Christianity in China," *Christian China,* October, 1921, pp. 24-25.

[4] Lewis Hodus, "The Chinese Church of the Five Religions," *The Journal of Religion,* January, 1924, pp. 71-72.

About this time a Chinese prophet of a new cult, who called himself the seventh founder (the sixth being Mohammed), proclaimed that there was no good in the world and warned the people of the near-at-hand millennium. "I am overwhelmed by deep sorrow. The wrath of Shangti (God) is coming down upon your head," he lamented.

The students, after the anti-Confucian Movement and prior to the anti-Religion Movement, showed a considerable interest in religion. It had been called to their attention by the times. There were those who took a liberal view toward it, and those who believed that the concept of humanity could well replace the concept of existing religions. A detached group believed that every one should have freedom of belief about this as about other matters, and if they were sufficiently interested they would study and compare different religions. Another group composed for the most part of Chinese students in France and members of the "Young China Association," were opposed to all religion. Notables in this group are Li Shi-tseng and Chou T. Y.

When the Anti-Confucian Movement was at its height, the leaders were asked, "Why don't

you attack other religions besides Confucianism? Is it because Christianity is a Western religion?" [5] To this they answered:

> We editors of the *New Youth* are not at all worshippers of any Western religion. The reason why we have not attacked the Western religions is because the poison poured into China by Confucianism has been greater than the poison of the Western religions, so comparatively speaking we shall wait a little while. But fundamentally, we have already prepared the way: Mr. Chen Tu-seu has already explained the "mysteries of the Universe by science" and Dr. Tsai had already made it clear that æsthetics can be substituted for religion.[6]

Then came the end of the World War and the student movement attacking militarism, capitalism and foreign domination. It was at this time that various manifestations of anti-religious movements already in existence came to the front. They were directed more or less strongly against Christianity, because, as one of the leaders said, "Most of the so-called Powers are Christian Nations . . . and Christianity in China is the most

[5] *New Youth,* Vol. IV, No. III, March, 1918.
[6] *Ibid.*

aggressive of all the religions."[7] On Christmas Eve, 1919, a paper in Canton printed a special page called "The Jesus Number." One Chinese said: "It was the most virulent attack against Christianity that the writer has ever seen, and it was very widely distributed."[8]

In 1920 a special number on "Jesus" was published by one of the youth magazines called "The Mind of the People." In this number there was an article entitled, "What Is Jesus?." There is, said the author: "1. 'The Historical Jesus.' 2. 'The Biblical Jesus.' 3. 'The Jesus of the Reformation Period.' 4. 'The Jesus of New Rationalism and Philosophers.' 5. 'The Jesus of Tolstoi.'

"There is no value," the author continued, "in the historical Jesus; the Jesus of the New Rationalism and philosophers and Tolstoi was used by them for their own ends. Concerning the Biblical Jesus, I may conclude that the teachings of Jesus, from what is stated in the Bible, are self-contradictory. On the one hand the teachings show universal love and brotherhood of mankind, but on the other they show a narrow selfishness and a

[7] *Arguments Against Religion,* 1922, Peking.

[8] Hsu, P. C., "The Prospects for Christianity in China," *Christian China,* October, 1921, pp. 24-25.

spirit of revenge," which the writer claims has caused various religious wars even among the so-called Christian nations.[9]

In the same year—1920—the "Young China Association" organized directly after the student strikes, decided in Paris,[10] that persons having religious beliefs could not be accepted as members of that association. This caused strong protest on the part of its members. A Chinese student in Japan wrote friends in Paris:

"Freedom of religious belief is written in the Constitution. The life of religious belief and the life of material and intellectual activities can be in harmony with each other. The Hebrew people believe in God, and the artistic Greeks believed in gods, but their religious beliefs are the same. Tolstoi believed in Christianity and Spinoza believed in Pantheism, but I do not see any distinction of low or high or any conflict in their personalities. William James . . . Bergson . . . and others have considered the value of religious beliefs. . . . Although I do not belong to any religion myself, I have sympathy with my friend who said: 'Although I do not believe in Christ as the "Son of God" I value highly the good

[9] Cio, J. S., "Jesus Number," 1920.

[10] The leaders of the association were then studying in Paris.

teachings of Jesus and the good literary materials in the Bible. . . . The Young China Association is an organization for scientific investigation . . . ; problems to be studied. . . . Religions, art, science have no absolute value in themselves; it all depends on our reactions to them. . . . Recently I have done a little research in Biblical Literature, and I was greatly pleased; I have learned to like the high personality of Jesus. . . . In my study I have pictures of Millet, Hugo, Goethe, Tolstoi, Beethoven and Jesus; also 'See, the Conquering Hero Comes,' 'The Joy of Life,' 'Labor and Pleasure' and other paintings. All these pictures give me inspiration when I am in distress and when I am at leisure. . . . I have tried to express in the most realistic way the spirit of religion. I hope you and the rest in Paris will reconsider the matter." [11]

This and similar protests of its members have caused the Young China Association to cancel the measure they had passed. Its members declared an attitude of open-mindedness inviting investigation and research. In 1921 three special numbers on "The Problems of Religion" were published.[12] The following are some translations:

[11] *Young China,* Vol. II, Nos. VIII, XI, and Vol. III, No. I.
[12] *Ibid.*

Religion and Science
The Problems of Science: Literature and Religion
Religious Philosophy
Religion and Buddhism
William James' Philosophy of Religion
Harold Hoffding's Religious Experience
Religion from the Viewpoint of Materialistic History—Hermann Corter
Religion and the Future of the Human Race
Religion and the Future of China
Religion and Socialism
Religion and Sociology
Religion and Evolution

A good many other magazines, among them, the *Wissen und Wissenschaft, Science, Philosophia, The Critical Review* and others, also published articles on this problem. Those who took a liberal attitude toward religion all came to about the same conclusions: "Since religion is a form of social control and a means of satisfying human wants, it should keep away from superstitions and provincialism or nationalism. It should emphasize the essence of creative individual life, on the one hand, and the enrichment of religion by science on the other." [13] After analyzing his views on religion, one student wrote:

[13] *Young China,* Vol. II, No. VIII.

My attitude toward religion is neither for nor against, but a question. Recently I had a talk with a Christian friend of mine, and he was very dissatisfied with Christians in China. "Have nothing to do with them," he said. But I think it is worse than useless. All that they know is how to build churches and chapels and receive a lot of false followers and then send out a great army of preachers to be "spiritual fathers". . . . I do not mean to say that they have no prominent men, but they pay too much attention to preaching and too little attention to practical and fundamental work; they try too much to draw people in to believe their religion. It is indeed unfortunate.[14]

Mr. Li Huang and a group of Chinese students in France, who had seriously considered the religious problem, sent a circular letter to the French professors in the University of Paris, asking three questions:

1. Is man a religious animal?
2. Have the old and new religions any chance to survive in modern life?
3. Will New China need a religion?

(Dated February 25, 1921, Paris.)

M. Granet, a professor at the Sorbonne, M.

[14] *Ibid.*

Barbusse, and M. Bouglé, professor of social philosophy at the Sorbonne, replied, answering the third question by "No." It was the opinion of one of them that China had no religion and that it was dangerous to introduce any from abroad, adding that it was unfortunate that Christianity had come to China as a means of extending economic and political power. It is not worthy to be an agent for the spreading of new Western thought, nor to be a medium for the spread of morals.[15]

The students in China may be divided into two main classes, those who have been and are students of the Government schools and those who are students of the Missionary schools. The Christian Missionary Schools are not under the control of the Chinese Government; they are under the protection of their respective countries, and hence they have the "political and financial support of their home countries." [16] For this reason the students of the two schools are more or less isolated from each other. The breaking down

[15] *Young China,* Vol. III, No. I.

[16] Yu Hao Djin, "The Relation Between the Government and the Mission Schools in China," *The Chinese Journal of Sociology,* December, 1922. There are more than 200,000 students.

of this isolation began through common interest in athletics and other student activities and was completed by the influence of the Student Movement when students, Governmental or Missionary, both worked together coöperatively under one central organization in the nation and through various local organizations in the provinces. An outstanding fact is that most of the students of the Missionary schools have been Christians or have been under the influence of Christianity, while the students of the Government schools are mostly not Christians or under the influence of any religion.[17] Naturally conflict would arise between them. It also shows why all the various manifestations studied in the previous pages have been among students and scholars of the Government schools. The students in Government schools say, "The missionary education has neglected Chinese culture; the Chinese teachers in missionary schools have a status that is too low; the young people have been suppressed by their religious education and compulsory religious attendance; they do not have freedom of thought.[18]

[17] This description is from experience in both the Missionary and Government schools.

[18] See "The Relation Between the Government and the Mission Schools in China," Yu Hao Djin.

As a result of the criticism they were receiving, the Government schools called together the World's Student Christian Conference which was held in Peking in 1922.

All the various protests against Christianity have shocked our missionary friends in China. They were not able to read Chinese, so their information has been arrived at mostly second-hand. They have been told that Chinese youth is materialistic and anti-Christian. The conservative Christians say religious prayers for these youths; there are those who openly declare that the young men are destined for hell! There are others who tell their workers and students that they must stand firm and be brave "Christian soldiers!" There are also, however, the so-called "Liberal Missionaries" who try to understand the young people. They may be called the modernists, but they are very few in number. . . . And so, Peking (Tsing Hua College), the center of all the radical movements, was chosen for the place of the Conference.

It was here that the smoldering opposition between these two groups broke into open fire. The spark which started the anti-religion conflagration

was a special number of the *Association Progress* magazine which discussed the World's Christian Student Federation. A tiny group of students in Shanghai read this special number, dismissed the only Christian member of their group, and wrote a proclamation announcing the birth of the Non-Christian Student Federation, an inflammatory article which was widely circulated. The fire quickly gained headway. They next published a booklet entitled, "Why We Oppose the World's Student Christian Federation." Their attack was solely on Christianity.[19]

It is interesting to note that when this movement reached Peking, it was found to be too narrow and so was changed to "The Great Federation of Non-Religionists," and the movement was then called "The Anti-Religion Movement."[20] Eventually, Li Shi-tseng who has already been mentioned as one of the anti-religionists became a leader in this movement.

"On March 21st, the Federation sent out a circular telegram signed by 79 men, among whom

[19] C. S. Chang, "The Anti-Religion Movement," *Chinese Recorder,* August, 1923, p. 459.

[20] The movement in Shanghai released the "critical attitudes" of the youth in Peking into action.

was Li Shi-tseng, one of the most active leaders. Organizations were quickly formed among the students of Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Paotingfu, T'ai Yuan, Wu Hu, Wushang, and Changaha. The Peking Morning Post published about thirty declarations of organizations in different centers discussing this movement. Practically all the Government students attached themselves to the movement.

On April 9th a mass meeting was held in the National University of Peking. Here it was pointed out that the world had passed through the religious stage of its development and had entered the scientific stage. Therefore religion was no longer needed. "In fact, religion was a dead issue in the West." Li Shi-tseng was one of the lecturers; an article written by Chancellor Tsai Yuan-pei was also read. An audience of over one thousand, mainly students, attended the meeting. A number of Japanese scholars published about the same time, articles in sympathy with the Anti-Religion Movement. These articles were translated into Chinese by a member of the "Young China Association." [21]

Governmental suppression of the mass meet-

[21] C. S. Chang, *Ibid.*, pp. 459-460.

ings of the anti-religion students in Shanghai and Anhwei in March, 1922, only furthered the movement.

Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei at the Anti-Religion Federation mass meeting expressed his theory that religion is a type of philosophical belief, that all existing religions are corrupt, being false and insincere, suppressing the creativeness of an individual by imposing upon him external belief. He condemned schools and Y.M.C.A.'s for attracting immature youth to believe in their religion.

In an article on "Educational Independence" he pointed out that education should be free from any religious interference and that religion and education should be separated. He could not understand why these students are willing to be members of the World's Christian Student Federation and why the Tsing Hua is willing to be used as a place for the World's conference. "Since they have a religious federation movement, we can not help but have an 'Anti-Religion Federation Movement,'" he wrote. "It is very natural. People may say, 'Does this Anti-Religion Federation movement not harm freedom of belief?' I do not think so. To believe in a religion is a matter of freedom, but not to be-

lieve in a religion is also a form of freedom. If our 'Anti-Religion Federation Movement' does harm to any one's freedom of belief, then is it not also true that the 'Religion Federation Movement' also does harm? Since we have had this anti-religious belief and since there is an anti-religion movement, we felt free to launch our movement." [22]

Mr. Uong, in his speech before the Anti-Religion Federation said: "Originally I had only two types of attitude toward religion: first, to study religion impartially, be it Buddhism, Christianity, or what not; second, to respect all religious believers. . . . But out of these two types has now come a third, i.e., to resist religious believers. I respected them because I believe in mutual help, but I find they do not respect us, and in addition they have been invading us. . . . The motive underlying this Anti-Religion Federation is to express our spirit of resistance. Let me illustrate the matter to you. When I sailed for France I had with me a son of one of my relatives. He was just eight or nine years old then. He had studied two years in a Catholic

[22] Published in "Arguments Against Religion," June, 1922, Peking.

school. When he went to bed he knelt before his bed, mumbled something and then kissed his cross. When I asked 'What are you doing?' he replied: 'My teachers told me that when one goes to sleep evil spirits come to eat his soul. But if one asks help from God, the devils dare not come near him.' I was, of course, greatly impressed." [23]

There are three main parties of interest in this movement—those who are pro, con, and neutral.

The attitudes of the group which represents the Anti-Religion Movement may be illustrated by the nature of the various articles they published in June, 1922, in the form of a book.

Arguments Against Religion [24]

Preface: Lectures of Various Anti-Religionists.

Anti-Religionists in Modern Times: Francis Bacon, René Descartes, François de Voltaire, Denis Diderot, Jeremy Bentham, Herre de La Place, Jean Lamarck, Auguste Comte, Victor Hugo, Charles Darwin, Camille di Cavour, Claude Bernard, Alexander Bokounine, Karl Marx, Clemence Boyer, Elise Reclus, Alfred Napuet, Pierre Kropotkin: their short life-histories.

"Natural Morality" of M. Cuyau.

[23] "Arguments Against Religion."

[24] A collection of speeches and articles by various leaders of the movement.

Four Types of Chinese and the Problem of Religion:

1. Christians 344,974 (1922).
2. "Rice," Christians.
3. Relatives of Christians.
4. Friends of Christians.

Bible and China: A statistical study.

The So-called Good Points of Religion. . . . During the famine-relief the missionaries and Christian workers used the chance to convert people. They gave Bibles first before they gave food. The believers ate first and the unbelievers ate later!

Why we are opposed to religion. . . . First, because in periods of unrest they preach that man is sinful and that they must believe in their religion, thus suppressing the dynamic force in the individual. Second, because it conflicts with the idea of progress. Third, because it conflicts with science.

Anti-Religion Again.

Anti-Religion—Bertrand Russell. . . . Belief in religion means the perpetuation of fixed ideas, so Karl Marxism may be called a religion. It conflicts with science, progress and new ideas.

Anti-Religion—Tsai Yuan-pei.

Substitution for Religion made by Æsthetics.

Freedom of Belief.

Rationality *vs.* Superstition.

Reason *vs.* Force of Might.

Anti-Religion—a survey of the Christians in the world.

Christianity and the Christian Church—Chen Tu-seu. . . . Contradictions in the teachings of Christianity. . . . Crimes of the Christian church. Militaristic and Capitalistic Nations Pay: I give you Bibles and you give your territories!

Freedom of Belief. . . . If they have the freedom to preach, we should have the freedom to protest against it.

Religion and the Future of the Human Race. . . . Religion is not necessary. A psychological and sociological study of religion.

Religion and the Future of China.

What is Freedom of Belief?

Religion and Socialism—Li Huang. . . . Christianity is capitalistic and is in conflict with science, progress, and thus also with socialism.

Anti-Religion—Li Shi-Tseng. . . . Religion is out of date, for all mystical beliefs have been eliminated by modern science, arts and learning. I really do not like to talk on this subject, but since they try to preach to us and to our young people, we cannot help wanting to resist. . . . As we live in this country we do not want to be passive.

The problem of life after death. . . . The reason why I take this time to clear up this problem is, first, the Chinese people do not have a scientific

attitude toward religion, and second, these preachers have been fooling our people and their religion.

Religion and New Learning.

Religion and Freedom, Equality and Universal Love.

The Anti-Religion Federation.

Social Education and the Problem of Religion.

What Is Jesus?

The Problem of Religion.[25]

To sum up, their various attacks are as follows:

1. Attacks on religion itself:
   Religion is out of date
   Religion does not promote human progress
   Religion is not necessary for mankind
   Religion has no connection whatsoever with morality.[26]
2. Attacks on Christian teaching:
   It is too unscientific
   It is contrary to logic
   It is contrary to social theories
   It is not at present adapted to China.
3. Attacks on the Christian Church:
   The Church has committed many sins in Europe in its opposition to free thinking and in bringing about war

[25] "Arguments Against Religion."

[26] According to them, "Morality based on religion is passive, unnatural, and morality should be natural and acceptable to human wants."

She supports capitalism and opposes radical and democratic ideas
She has sinned against the national integrity of the Chinese people
Her methods and devices are morally bad
They teach superstitions.

It is for the most part the Christian students who favor religion. *The True Light Review,* a Baptist denominational monthly, published in Canton two special numbers under the title, "Criticism of the Anti-Christians," in May and June, 1922, just after the movement started. Timothy Jen and others also sent out declarations against the movement and published books on "The Point of View," and "Religion and Science." While the members of the Anti-Religion Federation use the theories of modern authorities, mostly French, English and Russian, to support their attacks, their opponents use the theories of men like William James, John Dewey, Bertrand Russell, Tolstoi, Bergson, etc., to return the attacks. While the members of the Anti-Religion Federation hold that Christian nations are "hypocritical, militaristic, and capitalistic, and that Christians helped to fight in the last World War," their opponents hold that it was the materialistic and inhuman

scientists of the West who were really responsible for the World War because they were weak on their spiritual side. A student wrote:

> Please note—I am not against science, but I am against those who attack religion by science, who try to explain the Universe by science, and who try to use science to dominate human life; I am not against materialistic civilization, but I am against those who are used by materialistic civilization and enslaved by it. The recent World War with its resulting bankruptcy of civilization seems to indicate that a materialistic culture is responsible. . . . The aim of knowledge and science is the benefit of human life. . . . They can study and control natural and material things by science, but to say there is no spiritual life besides material phenomena and things, and that a spiritual life is from material things and can be controlled by natural methods, to that I cannot agree. Material things can be analyzed by science, but not the spiritual life. It can be known by intuition, not mechanically.[27]

The criticism of the Anti-Religion Federation drawn up by students and scholars who are not Christians, when summed up, is as follows:

[27] *The True Light Review*, January, 1925, special number on "Against the Anti-Religion Federation."

1. Religion is useful and inevitable
   It gives human comfort when one is in distress
   It is a natural expression of human life.[28]
2. Religion and science are not conflicting factors in modern society.[29]
   Religion and science have their respective uses in different fields
   Science cannot be the only solution of human problems, for it is too abstract and it tends to make people hardhearted and pessimistic
   Science also relies on faith.

The following conclusions are made by those who are, for the most part, Christians:

3. Christianity is progressive and is not contrary to logic:
   Those elements of the Christian religion which seem to be antagonistic to science are simply out-of-date doctrines, creeds, dogmatism, and theological suppositions
   The essence of Christianity is the supreme personality of Jesus
   The fact that the church has committed sins in the past cannot be used as a ground

[28] Liang Su-ming, for example, takes this view.
[29] Liang Chi-chao takes this view. Mr. Jen's "A New Point of View" and "Science and Religion," also express this view.

for opposition. It has been the result of men's taking advantage of the church, but it does not mean we should do away with Christianity itself.[30]

4. The charge that Christianity is a supporter of capitalism is unverified

Christianity has done much for the unfortunate classes

Socialism is an actual practice of the Christian principle that labor is sacred and that slavery should be abolished, and that coöperation should be promoted

The Christian religion is the Gospel of the poor.

On March 31st, the very month when the Anti-Religion Movement started, five professors in the National University of Peking, then the center of the movement, headed by Chou Tso-jen, issued an announcement insisting that every one should be allowed to believe in whatever religion he liked.

We are not members of any church, nor do we support any particular religion, nor do we desire to show any sympathy towards movements directed against any religion. We are, however, strongly of the opinion that men should have per-

[30] See C. S. Chang, "Anti-Religion Movement." Also see V. P. Ting criticism of the "Anti-Christian Movement," *The Weekly Review,* Vol. XX, No. VIII, April, 1922, pp. 291-2.

fect religious freedom without interference from any one. Moreover, religious freedom is distinctly guaranteed by the Constitution, and educated people should take the lead in acting on this principle. In any case, they should not take the initiative in destroying it.[31]

Mr. Chou Tso-jen, as already mentioned in Chapter IX, is a literary revolutionist. His "appreciation of religion is of its artistic and literary value," although he does not believe in creeds and the superstitious aspects of religion.[32]

At the same time a group of young men in the Southeastern University of Nanking who had been publishing *The Critical Review* decided to take an impartial attitude toward religion. They had been publishing various articles on Buddhism and Christianity based on scientific studies.

All these types of behavior toward religion may be summed up by the attitude taken by Liang Chi-chao. In his lecture to the Philosophic So-

[31] March 31st, 1922, published in Peking. It was answered by Mr. Chen Tu-seu on April 11th in the Peking *Morning News* in an article entitled, "Religion and Freedom."

[32] Mr. Chou and others maintain that religion is a great problem; it must be carefully studied. Mr. Chang interpreted the movement thus: "To propagate the truth of science, and to attack with an objective attitude all religious superstitions."

ciety in Peking, commenting on the Anti-Religion Federation, he said: "Within the last month, the reactionary movement against the World's Christian Federation Conference in Peking has organized itself into an Anti-Religion Movement. I admit that I think this is a good phenomenon. Why? Because religion which has not ordinarily been considered as a problem in China is now considered a great problem; it is a manifestation of the active expression of our people, so it is good.

"Now I want to speak some words to the Christians. I hope from now on they will be awakened by the influence of this movement. I respect their educational work in China, but they should respect the individual faith of others, and they should not take Christianity as the measure of what is good or bad. If they desire to do something for the benefit of society, I respect them; but if they merely want to attract more members to their religion, I am willing to say that they have disgraced its real meaning. In conclusion I hope the members of the Anti-Religion Federation from now on will direct their whole attention toward the various superstitious beliefs in China,

—those which have been doing far more harm than Christianity." [33]

In recent years the problem of religion, which was not of interest to the public at all, has become a very popular topic of discussion; newspapers publish articles on religion, and students and scholars have been doing research work in various schools of religion. The Mission Book Company in Shanghai has reported that they have never sold so many copies of the Bible as in the three years since the beginning of the movement. Books on Buddhism and other religions have been in great demand. At the same time it has been reported that a Church Revolution has been started in various Christian churches in China. Mr. Hsu Ching Yi of Changsha has proposed that all the myths and legends of Christianity in the past should be abolished, all the useless ceremonies and forms changed. *The True Light Review* has just declared that they have been independent from the control of the foreign missionaries, and that they may not be accused of having relations with imperialism and capitalism.

[33] His lecture on April 16, 1922, published in "Liang Chi-Chao's Lectures," Vol I, pp. 65-80, Shanghai, 1922. By superstitious beliefs he meant the various superstitious spiritual movements going on in China and the "Movement for Five Religions," was included because of its superstitious nature.

CHAPTER XII

A DECADE OF THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

THE Youth Movement in China will not last forever. Since its beginning in 1915, when Chan Tu-Sen published "My Solemn Appeal to Youth," the movement has gained impetus with the burial of tradition after tradition. The most dramatic years of the movement are over, it is true, but it has lost neither rôle nor significance. The promoters it should be remembered, did not confine themselves to methods of revolt, but followed peaceful and orderly schedules whenever possible. Noteworthy is the achievement of the last few years,—that of making the movement tangible to the great masses of the Chinese people. Other classes, eager to assert themselves, especially the laboring classes and women, have been greatly encouraged by its successes.

The activities in which the students of China engaged after their first successful uprising had given them confidence, show the vitality and cre-

ative life in this movement. How very new some of these undertakings were, can be realized, when it is remembered that prior to the Student Revolution, the students had never participated in public affairs, and when it is further remembered that, while students were formerly considered as a privileged class, the students of New China have preferred to think of themselves as the servants and leaders of the people.

As early as the summer of 1919, the students scattered all over China peddling goods and as Dr. John Dewey said, "Speaking, speaking, speaking." During the academic year, they addressed the people in the neighborhood of their schools, and during the summer vacation, dispersed to the towns and villages and gave lectures whenever possible.[1] It has become a duty of their school work to go out voluntarily to give lectures to the common people in cities, towns, and villages. They are usually organized in different schools into what they call "Popular Lecturing Teams,"[2] made up, usually of college and high school students. They are of different types: some are ac-

[1] C. H. Chuang, *Movement for Education of Illiterates in China*, 1923, Peking, p. 7.
[2] *Ibid.*

companied by music (vocal or instrumental), some do just purely lecturing, and others give student-plays. The teams usually go out week-ends, or in the evenings and on holidays. The subjects of their lectures range from "Personal Hygiene," and "Science," to "International Problems."

Students of colleges and secondary schools have maintained schools for illiterates all over the nation. No statistics however are available except those in Peking.

	No. of Schools	*No. of Pupils*
Maintained by students of		
Peking National University ..	2	503
Chung Kuo University	1	222
Ming Kuo University	1	113
Pin Ming University	1	42
Yen Ching University	1	50
Peking Teachers' for Women .	1	70
Peking Teachers' College	2	452
Law College	1	120
Engineering College	1	170
Medical College	1	157
Army Medical School	1	19
First Middle School	1	13
Peking Normal School	1	214
Pei Hua Girls' School	1	51

	No. of Schools	*No. of Pupils*
Chung Te Middle School	2	30
Tsing Hua College	1	100
Total	19	2,326 [3]

The above schools are those maintained voluntarily by students during their academic year. They are of various types: some are for evenings only, some for half-days, and some for full days. They are for children and for adults. During the summer vacation, the students return to their native villages, towns, and cities to open free schools, principally for children, but at the same time talking to adult audiences. They usually turn temples into schools and temple-yards into playgrounds. And again, they help the schools in their respective localities as voluntary teachers in music, games, etc.[4] A young college instructor writes: "In the summer of 1921, one hundred and eighty-three students of the Foochow College one day organized themselves into a group to plan

[3] C. H. Chuang, *Movement for Education of Illiterates in China*, p. 7 (1923), Peking.

[4] Out of the experience of the writer and the reports given by students to the writer.

their procedure for opening free schools in the summer time. As I was a teacher in the natural sciences, I was asked to be the adviser of the group. Before the end of the spring months, they had organized a training school for themselves, discussing the teaching of children's songs and games. They divided themselves into twenty-eight teams, each team with a small Chinese flag. At the end of the term, they dispersed, went to their homes and looked around for places to open their schools.

"The end of the summer vacation found them all back in school with reports of their successes ready. Twenty-eight such schools for children were established with an enrollment of about 3,000 children." [5]

The publication of periodicals by the students also went on, on a considerable scale. "Since the Student Movement," wrote Lo Cia-lung, "the people awakened as if from a dream, realizing that the old ways are no longer suitable to the new conditions, and they all look to the new ways which come with *youth*. Previous to the student movement, those engaged in the Literary Revolution and the Thought Revolution were merely

[5] An abstract of a diary.

those connected with the *New Youth* and *The Renaissance, The Weekly Review,* and a few dailies. But after the student movement, about 400 kinds of periodicals were published. Although their contents vary, they show their general willingness to take part in the various contemporary movements. Before the student movement, the vernacular language was used by only a few, but since the student movement, not only have most of the newspapers used the vernacular writing, but the national educational organizations have been greatly influenced. . . . This shows the dynamic power of students . . . their capacity for free expression . . . the manifestation of their individuality." (May 1st, 1920.) [6]

Almost all the periodicals (except the few already mentioned in the last chapter) are published in the vernacular. They present various aspects of cultural problems.[7] These magazines and their purposes are:

Struggle—a periodical published by the students of the National University of Peking. To promote the "New Culture Movement."

[6] *The Renaissance,* Vol. II, No. IV. May, 1920.
[7] See Chapter VIII.

This Life—a periodical published by the Shansi First Middle School. To introduce the culture of Europe and America and to discuss social problems.

Popular Education—a periodical published by the Peking Teachers' College. To promote democracy and to develop new education.

Realism—a periodical by the Tsing Hwa College. To promote learning and to reconstruct society.

To Awaken Society—a periodical published by the Peking Normal College. To show the way a true society should behave and pragmatically to deal with the methods of humanism.

Youth—a periodical published by the Middle School Youth Society in connection with the Peking Teachers' College. To determine how to be young men of the Twentieth Century.

Democratic Morality—a periodical published by the Second Normal College, Shanghai (New Learning Society). To observe the old society with a critical attitude, to reconstruct the fundamental bases of society and to promote new life.

Self-consciousness—a periodical published by the Shanghai Medical College. To introduce science to the people.

New Air—a periodical published by the Wushang

Teachers' College. To promote democracy and the culture movement.

The critical and revolutionary attitude of the students toward their own schools, one result of the student movement, led to their conviction that, "the students should be the center of the schools" and caused their teachers and principals great difficulty in dealing with them. School-strikes became very common. In the year 1922 alone, there were 106 school-strikes reported by the Peking *Morning News,* the Shanghai *Shun Pao,* the Shanghai *Times,* the *Times-News,* and the *Republic Daily* in Shanghai. Many others were not reported. The following statistics show the distribution of these strikes.[8]

(1) *Types of Schools:*

Type of School	*No. of Schools*	*No. of Strikes*[9]
Elementary	10	11
Middle Schools	66	71[10]
College and Professional	24	24
Total	100	106

[8] Several schools in Foochow struck at the same time, as did several in Wushang and Hankow. They counted one unit for their respective places.

[9] One of the elementary schools struck twice.

[10] Five of the middle schools struck twice.

(2) *Localities:*

Localities	*No. of Strikes*
Kiangsi	28
Chekiang	22
Anhwei	9
Chili	3
Hunan	4
Hupeh	11
Kiangsi	2
Fukian	2
Yunnan	1
Shansi	2
Kweichow	1
Honan	1
Szechwan	4
Shantung	2
Peking	12
Total	106

The chief causes were:

1. Conflict with the principles of the school and a refusal to accept new principles as formulated.
2. Conflict with the teachers, and the refusal to accept new teachers.
3. Their desire to keep principals and teachers who had resigned.

4. Refusal to take examinations.
5. Protests against the existing school-order.
6. The demand for new arrangements in the curriculum.
7. The demand for economic equivalence.
8. Reaction against ill-treatment in the schools.[11]

This has been called an educational revolution in the schools, representing their struggle against the old discipline and their search for self-discipline.[12]

Then followed a nation-wide movement of students to control their schools by self-government. Statistics as to the number of these schools which are now self-governed are not available, but it is an obvious fact that such government is a new experiment. They have been called by various names according to the wishes of the students in different schools, namely, "The Student Republic," "Student Self-Government," "The Student Society," "Self-control by the Students," "The Student Council," and "The Student Associa-

[11] Shan, T. D., "Investigation of the Strikes in 1922 (schools)," *The Educational Review,* Vol. XV, No. IV, April, 1923.

[12] See *New Education,* Vol. V. No. 5. December, 1922, pp. 1061-62. See also various new educational changes and organizations and movements in adjustment to the new situations conditioned by the student movement.

tion,"[13] one of the most interesting being the Students' Court of the Tsing Hua College which includes every student of the college. It was organized under two departments, the Students' Council, and the Executive Committee. In the year 1922-23, there was established a Students' Court, a judicial organ which together with the two departments mentioned above, completes the self-government system in the College.

A constitution was drawn up in the same year and was soon passed by an overwhelming majority of the students. The judges and prosecutors were accordingly elected and on March 23, 1922, a memorable day in Tsing Hua annals, the first inauguration of officers took place. Every case coming up is tried by student lawyers. The court has already tried several, but the work is new and the results are not yet satisfactory. Half a year has elapsed since the first inauguration, and the second group of officers have already taken their oaths (1923).[14]

Then too, a broadening of the field of activi-

[13] They had student-self-government before, but only in a few schools with limited power. The degree of student-control in schools varies from place to place.

[14] An interview with a previous student-judge of this students' court. A leaf of his diary was submitted to the writer.

ties followed in the wake of the student movement. The following list shows the kind of student-activities that now exist in two of the leading schools in China.

Of the National University of Peking and their students' group-activities (1919-21), a student wrote: "The student-activities of the National University have been more and more dynamic and expressive in recent years. They have overthrown the old habit of 'Closed-door Policy of Studying,' and have created a new student-group life. I hope that all you will continue to grow so that you may build foundations for the coöperation of humanity as a whole!"

A list of these activities with survey of their work follows:

1. "The Renaissance Society." [15] Recently published "Superstition and Psychology."
2. "Esperanto Instituto." [16] (October, 1919.)
3. "Geographical Society" (1920). Lectures, research, publishes a magazine, and conducts social surveys.

[15] This society has already been studied in the last two chapters.

[16] The dates in the parentheses are the years when they were founded.

4. "Dramatic Society" (1919). Lectures, discussions, translation of foreign books, and the dramatization of plays.
5. "Music Society." Research in both Chinese and Western music. It publishes a "Music Monthly."
6. "Painting and Drawing Society." It publishes a "Quarterly."
7. "Socialism Society." Research in the theories of socialism. (December, 1920.)
8. "Marxism Society." Research in the theories of Karl Marx. (Translated from German, English, French, and Japanese.) (November, 1921.)
9. "Mathematics Association." It publishes a magazine.
10. "Newspaper Society." Research in newspaper field. It publishes a magazine.
11. "B. Russell Society." Research in the theories of Bertrand Russell. His lectures have been translated. (December, 1920.)
12. "English Speaking Society" (1920).
13. "Mandarin Debating Society."
14. "Political Science Society" (1921).
15. "Law Society" (1921).
16. "Method of Learning Society."
17. "Economics Society."

"The other student-activities of the university are: "Popular Educational Lecturing Society"

. . . "People's Night School" . . . "Research in Popular Education Society" . . . "Athletic Association" . . . "The Students' Association" (1919) . . . the "Students' Y.M.C.A." (1920) . . . the "Students' Bank" . . . the "Learning Society" . . . the "Coöperation or Communism Society" organized by a group of students with no faith in the government.[17]

THE TSING HUA COLLEGE:

Student Organization before the Student Movement:

1. Student Y.M.C.A. (1912).
2. Chinese Boxing Association (1913).
3. Science Club (1915).
4. Supplementary School, Y.M.C.A. (1916).
5. Boy Scout (1916).
6. Confucian Association (1916). "The constitution provides for two departments: the Training Department and the Executive Department. The former aims at the study of Confucian doctrines and has groups for the study of classics, public speaking, literature, boxing and fencing. The latter aims to propagate the teachings of our great sage.

[17] *Student-Life in the National University of Peking,* 1921, Peking.

. . . Its activities are public lectures, social surveys, and the Confucian Sunday School.

"As the years have gone by, many activities have been added. At present, 1923, we have three more departments, i.e., the Legislative Department, the Executive, and Recreation Departments. We are taking charge of three schools, an evening school for laborers, a school for country pedagogues, and a Sunday School for village children. A library and a lecture room were established in Ch'eng Fu for the enlightenment of the villagers."

7. Chinese Public Speaking Club (1917).
8. Truth Union (1918). With the increase of membership, 1923, the union has become lively and high-spirited again. It established a summer school in the neighborhood of the college, during the summer vacation (1922).
9. Buddhist Club.[18]
10. Brass Band.

Student Organizations After the Student Movement (1919-1923)

Since the Student Movement all the old organizations have been revitalized and in addition the following new ones formed.

[18] The dates of the founding of these two group-activities have not been stated.

1. The Students' Association (1919).
2. School of Country Pedagogues (1919), under the auspices of the Confucian Club.
3. The Servants' Night School (1919).
4. Servants' Library (1920).
5. Agriculture Club (1920).
6. Art Club.[19]
7. Political Science Club (1920).
8. Chinese Oratorical and Debating Society (1920).
9. Literary Club (1921). "Poetry, fiction, and drama constitute the main topics of study. Both intensive study and creative work are emphasized."
10. Economics Club (1921).
11. Cin Hua Esperanto Instituto (1921). "With the firm belief that Esperanto will be the universal language in the future, we initiated the Cin Hua Esperanto Instituto on December, 1921. The Instituto is a member of the Universala Esperanto-Associo, and we are now planning to coöperate with the scouts in joining the World Brotherhood in order to make a practical use of the language."
12. Bicyclists' Association (1921).
13. The Union (1921). "With the object of cultivating friendship and exchanging knowledge and experiences among the members."

[19] Dates not given.

14. The Submarine (1922). "A club of student swimmers. . . . The whole organization is conducted in a spirit of coöperation and harmony."
15. Dramatic Club (1922). "The Dramatic Movement has found a new birth in Tsing Hua since the organization of the Dramatic Club. . . . The club made a début in the celebration of the eleventh National Commemoration day. A piece of symbolic art was made all the more beautiful by fairy dancing and sweet music."
16. Chinese Musical Association (1922). "Owing to the fact that Chinese music is neglected to a certain degree, this association was organized . . . as a remedy for present conditions. The members of the association aim to study Chinese music in a scientific way so as to give some contributions along this line."
17. The Students' Court (1922).
18. Educational Club (1922).
19. The Plum-Bob (1922).
20. Business Club (1922).
21. Glee Club.[20]
22. Jen Hsu Association.[20] [21]

Of peculiar interest is the fact that the mem-

[20] Dates not given.
[21] "Tsinghuapper," 1922-23, Peking.

bers of the Confucian Club, the Buddhist Club, and the Student Y.M.C.A. are working together coöperatively in matters of social service.

Since the Student Movement, a national awakening of the classes into group-consciousness through the stimulation of the Student Movement and the Social Movement has occurred. The ideals of the whole Youth Movement in the forms of the Renaissance, the Literary Revolution, and the Student Movement, have caused the "suppressed classes" likewise to express themselves, resulting in the Labor Movements and the Socialistic Movements. The Youth Movement has also given encouragement to already existing movements, like the Woman Movement and the New Education Movement. They have initiated and influenced the Family Revolution Movement, the Co-Education Movement, the Birth Control Movement, the Movement to Educate China's Illiterate Millions, and the Anti-Religion Movement. Besides these social movements and those already mentioned in previous chapters, the students have taken part in the Famine Relief Movement.

In 1920, the "May 1st" Movement,[22] was for

[22] This movement had its birthplace in Chicago, 1884.

the first time celebrated in China by the students and professors of Peking under the leadership of the National University of Peking. A number, entitled, "Special Number on the Celebration of the Labor Day," with its slogan "Sacred Labor," was published by the *New Youth,* on May 1st, 1920, a year after the Student Movement. In it, the history of the May 1st Movement and the various labor-problems of labor in China and the Western countries were treated. All these articles concerning the Chinese laborers in different cities were written after careful investigation. The concluding article was a letter sent by the representative of the Bolshevist Government, with twenty-five replies by different organizations throughout the country. The letter presented the nature and purpose of the Russian Revolution and the wish made by the new government, that the two nations should come to be friends again. The national Students' Association's reply is printed here.

. . . Representing the students of the whole country we address our dear Russian people and the New Russian Republic with complete sincerity in the following words: Your recent revolution has opened a new chapter in the history of the world revolution for which we respect you.

We hope from now on that your people and our people, in the pursuit of liberty, equality, and the real meaning of coöperation, may work together amicably and sincerely to get rid of "national suppression" and of "national, racial, and social prejudice" in order to create real liberty, equality, and universal love.

(Signed) THE NATIONAL STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

April 11, 1920.

A group of students were arrested for distributing pamphlets explaining the meaning of May 1st.[23]

The Woman Movement in China had its birth in 1910, but it was after the Student Movement that this movement gained impetus and became nation-wide. . . . In the summer of 1922 women students in both the Government Law School and the Higher Normal Government School for Women in Peking started a Woman's Suffrage Association and a Woman's Rights

[23] This may be called the beginning of a conscious labor movement in China. There were already 52 labor strikes in two cities of Kwangtung in nine months in 1922 alone. See "The Spread of the Strike Evil in China," by H. K. Tong, *The Weekly Review,* March 8, 1922. And "Capitalism in China," a special number published by the *World Tomorrow,* November, 1923. The demand of students was "Human Right," "Sacred Human Labor," etc.

League. The objects of the Woman's Rights League were: 1. All educational institutions shall be open to women. 2. Women shall enjoy all constitutional rights equally with men. 3. Under private law, the relation between man and wife, parents and children, the rights of inheritance, the laws concerning property and conduct shall be based on the principle of equality. 4. Equality between men and women in regard to marriage laws shall be enacted. 5. For the protection of girls, the "age of consent" shall be enacted whereby the taking of concubines shall be considered as involving bigamy. 7. Licensed prostitution, the slave trade and foot-binding shall be prohibited. 7. Protective labor legislation based on the principle of "equal pay for equal work" and the protection of motherhood shall be enacted.[24]

Other movements like the Birth Control Movement, and the Family Revolution also affected the position of women.

"As a result of Mrs. Sanger's visit to Peking, 1922, the women students of the National University there formed a Society for Birth Control.

[24] Zung Wei Tsung, "The Woman Movement in China." The *Y.W.C.A. Magazine*, Shanghai, June, 1923, pp. 2-3.

There are two main departments, one dealing with propaganda and the other with practical methods. A magazine is to be published and lectures to be given to women of all classes of society." (*Birth Control,* 1923.)

After three days' discussion at the Ziangnan College Students' Summer Conference, July 2-8, 1923, the following recommendations, prepared by a committee of the student delegates, were adopted. They were suggested as "Remedies" for the present situation.

1. Family democracy should be cherished and children should be consulted with regard to democratic management.
2. Full freedom of choice in regard to a life partner should be granted. Young men and women should take more initiative with regard to their own marriage, acting with the approval of their parents if possible.
3. There should be governmental registration of marriage with a determination of a suitable age for marrying.
4. A free public school system should be developed as rapidly as possible with a view to increasing the chances of children for education.
5. We should aim to develop social disapproval of the present traditions and practice as to

property inheritance, so that on a man's death a definite proportion of the property left would go to the state or to charitable institutions.

6. The principle of the monogamous family should be embodied in a national law.
7. Some definite occupation should be engaged in by every one with a view to saving the youth of wealthy families from being ruined by easy and selfish indulgence.
8. Medical examination should precede marriage.[25]

The Free School Movement, popularly called the "Movement to Educate the Illiterate Millions in China," begun by students after the Student Movement had inspired the educators in China to take further steps for the advancement of education together with the Literary Revolution has influenced Professor H. C. Chen of the National Southeastern University,[26] Mr. Y. C. Yen, and Mr. Daniel C. Fu to invent the so-called "Foundation Characters," composed of the simplest and commonest 1,000 Chinese words. The last two

[25] The Chinese Recorder, August, 1923, p. 435.

[26] Professor Chen's research work the "Determination of the Vocabulary of the Common People," he did independently at first.

students made their first experiments in Europe among the 200,000 Chinese laborers employed there during the War. The term required for the learning of the "Foundation Characters" is four months of classroom work, of one hour and a half a day. Graduates are able to read and write every-day literature.[27]

The first experimental campaign of this movement in Changsha was conducted in 1922, with this slogan "Make Changsha 100 Per Cent. Literate."

"A general parade by college and middle school students, who carried large banners and lanterns with such suggestive and appealing sentences as: 'An illiterate man is a blind man,' 'Is your son blind?,' 'An illiterate nation is a weak nation,' 'China's Salvation?,' 'Popular Education,' 'Can you endure to see three-fourths of China go blind?.'

"Teams of students were organized, trained, and sent, with registration cards and other necessary literature to visit the shops and homes, district by district. In three afternoons the teams recruited about fourteen hundred boys and men.

[27] The contrast is significant when the old way of learning to read and write required several years. All use the vernacular language.

"The twelve hundred boys and men who attended the classes up to the very last day of the term which lasted from March to July, 1922, took the final examinations. Nine hundred sixty-seven passed and were given certificates." [28]

During the Chefoo Campaign,[29] "Shops were closed on the day of the first mass meeting. Over three hundred high school boys and girls and normal school students volunteered to serve as recruiters. Fifty-two teams were organized and sent out to canvass the fifty-two districts, as mapped out by the Recruiting Committee. In two days' time the boys' teams enrolled over fifteen hundred boys and men, and the girl teams over seven hundred girls and women. The youngest of those enrolled was seven years of age and the oldest, sixty-seven. As in Changsha, the majority were of adolescent age.

"Altogether fifty 'Foundation Character Schools' were established in all parts of the city. . . . The slogan of the Chefoo Campaign was

[28] Y. C. James Yen, *How to Educate China's Illiterate Millions for Democracy in a Decade*, Peking, 1923, pp. 7-8.

[29] In the same year, Nanking, as it is called to-day, and many other cities followed.

'To make Chefoo one hundred per cent. literate within five years.'

"The news of the successful experiments made in Changsha and Chefoo spread quickly. Requests have been coming in steadily from many cities, large and small, to help them in similar campaigns." [30]

[30] Y. C. James Yen, *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

THIS ends the survey of the Youth Movement in China: a movement with a background of rapid social changes, in the midst of continuous political, economic, and cultural chaos. Here we witness, for the first time in the history of China, the spiritual uprising of the nation's youth for self-realization against great obstacles: the age-long ordering and forbidding attitudes of their elders, suppression by "high-handed" governmental officials, and the interferences of foreign powers. All odds are against them, but the revolution goes on!

Starting out as a new adventure of a small group of discontented young people, it is to-day recognized as the most important moving spirit behind the social transformations in China. It has given a new point of view to the people, as was the primary aim of the revolution; it has controlled public opinion, and has been able to demonstrate to the world that New China's leaders are not mere politicians or militarists, but simple yet critical-minded youth, hitherto forced into the background. The common people in China have

seen in them their hope; militarists and politicians have learned to respect them; foreign powers who have enjoyed their unquestioned rights in China since the First Opium War begin to recognize the seriousness of what confronts them. The conflict of May 1925, between students and foreign powers in Shanghai over the labor problem, which aroused the people of the nation against foreign domination, is a clear indication of this development. The following is a testimony of a group of members of the faculty of the National University of Peking in regard to the incident:

"Strikes of Chinese workers, demanding increase of wages, had been going on for some time in the Japanese cotton factories at Taingtao and Shanghai, and a striker was shot and killed by the Japanese without any justifiable cause. Against this brutal act some Chinese students who were merely young boys and girls paraded as a manifestation of protest in the streets of Shanghai on May 30 last. They were armed with nothing more than pamphlets and handbills.

"The police of the international settlement, which are practically under the complete control of British officials and consuls, not only saw fit to prohibit the demonstration but also arrested a number of the students taking part in it. Then

the rest of the students went to the police station demanding the release of their fellow students. The police ordered them to disperse. As they refused to go, a British police Inspector ordered, 'Shoot to kill.' Six of the boys were killed on the spot and over forty were seriously wounded."

Newspapers throughout the world, and even most Westerners in China, attributed the outbreak to Bolshevist propaganda, but they were wrong. They failed to realize that there had long been a revolt of Youth in China against oppression, whether Chinese or foreign. The Chinese Youth Movement had its origin long before the Bolshevist uprising in Russia. The Bolshevist Revolution was primarily economic and political, while the Chinese Youth Movement is fundamentally cultural. This revolt has also fired the common people to the conviction that social discrimination against Chinese in all foreign settlements must be done away with.

This study throws light on the fact that not only has an ancient civilization in the East been undergoing rejuvenation at the hands of its youth, but also that all of Western civilization in China has been put under critical reëxamination. In the fields of philosophy, religion, education, in-

dustry, government, new tests have been introduced. It can be predicted that a new Christianity is in the making in China, and eventually, a new philosophy, a new system of education, a new form of government, which are bound to be very different from those of the West, will arise. In the meantime, for good or for ill, the spirit of youth in China is still that of idealistic enthusiasm. The following message recently sent by the Chinese Students' Associations in response to messages from various groups of American students in the United States reflects this attitude:

"We, delegates of the National Student Commission, assembled in conference in Shanghai on May 28, 1926, wish to express to American students our very deep appreciation of the several messages of sympathy and support sent to us during our days of trouble and suffering. We are struggling here in China for justice and fair play and for a larger and more abundant life for the Chinese people. Although misunderstood, maligned and oppressed from many quarters, we are determined to press forward in our task of building a New China in the spirit expressed by our sage Mencius:

'Might shall not overawe us,
Riches shall not seduce us,
Poverty shall not discourage us.' "

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